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THE LATEST NEWS FROM ISRAEL

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צא לאור בירושלים

The riddle of Rafal. Israel's retiring Chief of Staff is an outspoken but contradictory personality. Profile on page 12. On 13 an analyst considers strategic scenarios for the West Bank. Report on Fashion Week, 16-18.

Begin sceptical as Hussein ponders

Jerusalem Post Staff

There were signs of movement in the Middle East peace process last week as the PLO roof organization meeting in Algiers gave tacit approval to Jordan's King Hussein to enter the American-sponsored negotiations. At the same time, Israeli sources said Hussein has definitely resolved to join the talks, and may announce his decision to do so this week, but Prime Minister Menachem Begin rejected two of Jordan's preconditions for entering negotiations.

Sources in Jerusalem suggested that because of Hussein's imminent decision and the diplomatic challenges it entails, Begin moved earlier in the week to push through cabinet approval of Moshe Arens as defence minister, and ensured that Arens' predecessor, Ariel Sharon, would remain on two key cabinet bodies.

Begin on Friday rejected Jordan's demands for a freeze on settlement and giving the vote to East Jerusalem residents for an autonomous Palestinian council.

Cabinet secretary Dan Meridor said on Sunday that the government wanted Hussein to join the negotiations without pre-conditions and on the basis of the Camp David agreement.

"We really hope he will join and not just talk about it."

Begin, briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, said that Hussein is known to be equally opposed to the opposi-

tion Labour Party's proposal for territorial compromise on Judea and Samaria as he is to the government's programme.

Begin, referring to the resolutions passed last week in Algiers by the PLO's Palestine National Council, said nothing had changed with the PLO. It had neither amended its covenant — which calls for the destruction of Israel — nor decided to halt terror operations against Israel.

The Algiers conference, at the end of a week of debate, unanimously adopted resolutions which denounced President Ronald Reagan's Middle East peace plan but stopped short of an outright rejection, and it left open — without saying so — the possibility for Hussein to enter the peace process.

The Reagan plan envisages Palestinian "self-government" in association with Jordan but ignores the PLO demand for total independence.

The carefully-phrased final policy statement of the 16th session of the PNC appears to be a substantial victory for PLO chairman Yasser Arafat over his hardline critics.

Some observers said that the PNC opted for "double talk" in order to keep its contesting factions together, and that none of the resolutions it adopted "rock the boat." Hussein has a tacit mandate to talk, but no mandate to represent the Palestinians. But it was believed that this could give Hussein more

(Continued on page 2.)

Habib's progress report

Jerusalem Post Staff & Agencies

U.S. special envoy Philip Habib, equipped with a detailed document listing points of agreement and disagreement between Israel and Lebanon, returns to Jerusalem this week after several rounds of intensive talks with Lebanese President Amin Jemayel.

Sources in Beirut claimed that most of the points at issue between Israel and Lebanon had in fact been settled; but a number of outstanding basic questions could hold up an agreement in the ongoing negotiations for withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

Reliable sources in Beirut said the main points still unresolved concerned the security arrangements for South Lebanon and the nature of future relations between Israel and Lebanon.

Habib reportedly told the Lebanese that Israel was in no mood to compromise concerning "normalization" of relations between the two states. However, Habib said that if Lebanon showed goodwill on this issue, he was confident he could soften the Israeli stand on security arrangements.

According to the sources, Lebanon intends initially to close its border with Israel; but will promise to reopen it within a few months after an agreement is signed. This is in order to forestall objections both from anti-Israel elements within Lebanon and from other Arab states.

Israel's chief negotiator David Kimche also said last week that progress had been made.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, said last week that agreement had been reached between Israel and Lebanon on the wording of various points of the agreement being negotiated, such as the cessation of the state of hostilities, the cessation of hostile acts and hostile propaganda, the prevention of terror, and the establishment of each state's liaison office on the soil of the other state.

However, Begin said, agreement had not been reached over security arrangements, although Lebanon accepted the idea of security zones in principle. Nor had agreement been reached in detail about the

(Continued on page 2.)



Jerusalem children took to the streets on Saturday for a double treat — trying out their Purim masks and playing in the snow. See page 5. (Rahamim Israeli)

Fears grow over Soviet-Syrian moves

NEWS BACKGROUND
Hirsh Goodman
Defence Correspondent

The Soviet Union has completed the installation of four batteries of long-range SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles on Syrian territory, it has been reliably learned. The four batteries, each with six independent launchers, are fully operational.

The Soviet Union has never before deployed the strategic air defence missile system outside Russia. This is also the first time that the Syrians have allowed the Soviets to operate independent bases on their soil.

The batteries — two at Dmer, near Damascus, and two at Shamsur, near Homs — are being manned exclusively by Russians, believed to number several hundred. No Syrian soldier has ever been trained on the SAM-5, according to western defence experts, nor is there any course including Syrians under way. There are currently an estimated 4,500 Soviet advisers in Syria, active with all branches of the Syrian army.

Both the U.S. and Israel have attached great importance to the deployment of the missiles. The SAM-5, with an operational ceiling of 29 kilometres and a range of 300 kms., pose a direct threat to Israel's airborne early-warning and communications capability — known to have been a crucial element in securing Israel's destruction of SAM-2, SAM-3, SAM-6 and SAM-9 missile sites during the war in Lebanon, as well as the 80 to 0 ratio Israel enjoyed in aerial combat.

The move also signifies a deepened Soviet commitment to Syria. It constitutes the first overt move by the Soviets to regain influence in the Middle East after

having taken a back seat to the U.S. when the Camp David peace process started. The West knows little about the SAM-5, though it has been operational for 16 years.

The SAM-5s from their Syrian sites have the potential to threaten American aircraft operating off carriers in the Mediterranean, sailing between the Lebanese coast and Cyprus, as well as key airfields in both Jordan and Iraq. Both countries are in a state of tension with Syria because of the Iraq-Iran war.

Military experts agree that the SAM-5 would not be difficult to destroy. However, given that the missiles are being manned totally by Russian crews, the political implications of such a strike could mean that a regional conflict between Israel and Syria could escalate into wider conflict.

Israeli defence experts, meanwhile, have virtually given up hope that the Syrians will withdraw from Lebanon, and believe that the Syrians would rather have Israeli troops remain in Southern Lebanon than agree to normalization

between Lebanon and Israel. There is a high probability of conflict, or sustained tension, between Syria and Israel by mid-spring, experts believe.

The Syrians, experts believe, do not foresee an immediate Israeli military action against them, and hence are under no pressure to leave.

Syria has made this clear to the Lebanese, and its impact is being felt in the negotiations between Israel, Lebanon and the U.S. on the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. The reason for Syrian opposition to virtually any agreement with Lebanon is that Syria sees such an agreement as a death knell for Arab rejectionist states and a victory for those who have opted for the Camp David accords with Egypt.

According to expert opinion, the Syrians, who have three enlarged divisions in control of one third of Lebanon, are under no pressure. The Americans and the Saudi Arabians have had little influence on President Hafez Assad, and the Soviet commitment to Syria, as symbolized by the deployment of the SAM-5s, has become firmer.

Syria also has a great deal of leverage over Lebanese President Amin Jemayel, primarily in the pos-

(Continued on page 4.)

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Reagan's venture into a semantic minefield

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — If he did not know it before, President Ronald Reagan was reminded twice again this past week that words are diplomatic minefields in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The latest examples involved his proposal to "guarantee" Israel's northern border and his remarks supporting "something in the nature of a homeland" to the Palestinians.

In Jerusalem, Prime Minister Menachem Begin reacted tersely: "We do not want so-called security guarantees." And Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, in reaction to Reagan's "homeland" remark, replied that the word does not appear in the Camp David agreement, and "...it does not augur positive progress."

The U.S. administration, clearly embarrassed by the president's remarks, insisted that Reagan did not intend to change American policy by endorsing — for the first time — the concept of a Palestinian "homeland."

At the same time, White House and State Department officials said

that Reagan opposes the establishment of a Palestinian "nation," meaning an independent state.

Secretary of State George Shultz backed away from Reagan's "guarantee" statement, saying that only Israel should have ultimate responsibility for defending its security. His spokesman, Alan Romberg, sought to clarify Reagan's "homeland" remark: "I think we have said before that in the context of Palestinian legitimate rights, this is something that is of concern — a place that the Palestinians could identify with."

Shultz, in reply to a statement by outgoing Israeli Ambassador to Washington Moshe Arens that Jordan is the Palestinian state, said, "The problem is deeper and bigger than that," and "Israel can't pass off the Palestinian issue."

Before Shultz issued his denial of any U.S. guarantees to Israel, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, when asked to explain what Reagan had in mind, said the U.S. "guarantee could come in the form of either an expanded multinational peace-keeping force or a strengthening of the Lebanese

Army, which could take charge of the area."

At a breakfast meeting with reporters, Reagan was clearly flustered about the whole affair, over his idea for a guarantee to Israel. Thus, he said he had made the controversial comment in response to a question.

In fact, however, he had read it from a carefully prepared speech before the American Legion.

The attention given to the statement in the media was all wrong, he implied. Israel, he said, had stated often that it had moved its forces into Lebanon last June in response to terrorist incursions from South Lebanon. "Let me recall to you that that was the reason for the invasion in the first place — that there was shelling and rocketing from across the border, taking its toll of casualties in Israel," he said.

That's why the U.S., after an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, would be willing to help guarantee Israel's security in the north, he added.

He went on to say that it was "sound" policy that the U.S. should try to settle the Lebanese situation

before embarking on the broader Arab-Israeli peace process. It was urgent to give Lebanon a chance "to stabilize" itself first, he explained.

"So," said Reagan, referring to his controversial "guarantee" statement, "there is not anything new in that. And I was a little surprised about the wind that started blowing after I said it."

WHAT WAS most ironic about the whole flap was that those administration officials directly involved in drafting the statement for the president saw it as something that might be warmly welcomed by Israel, not rejected. Indeed, it was actually intended to be a carrot, not a stick.

The problem is that some of Reagan's red-faced Middle East specialists are not all that experienced in the historic nuances of potentially explosive words in the context of the Middle East. Only later did they come to recognize that they had blundered by using the word "guarantee."

One has to go back more than a decade to understand all the fuss. It was then that former Democratic

Senator J. William Fulbright, then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and one of Israel's arch enemies on Capitol Hill, raised the prospect of a U.S. guarantee for Israel in exchange for a withdrawal to the pre-1967 lines.

No thanks, replied Israel's Labour-led coalition government. And since then, Israel and its supporters in Washington have bristled — in an almost knee-jerk fashion — every time they hear the word "guarantee." Only Israel's armed forces can ensure Israel's security, the new defence minister, Moshe Arens, said just before leaving Washington to return to Jerusalem.

And Prime Minister Begin, in an address to the World Assembly of Jewish War Veterans, said: "There is no guarantee that can guarantee a guarantee. What we ask for is security arrangements, so that peace will be 'preserved in Galilee.'"

Reagan and his speech-writers may have thought that they were doing Israel a favour by promising to guarantee its northern border, but given the diplomatic history of the conflict, those words were not read that way in Jerusalem.

NEWS REPORT

Prisoner exchange possible soon

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Israel is negotiating with the PLO and Syria, through the good offices of the Austrian government, to secure the release of Israeli prisoners, captured in the Lebanese War, and there are hopes that a prisoner exchange may be carried out within days.

Syria holds three Israeli prisoners, and the PLO has eight. Two of these, held by Ahmed Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, have never been visited or seen by the Red Cross or any other party. Five more soldiers captured by the Syrians are said to be "missing."

In Vienna, Austrian television quoted PLO deputy military commander Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) as saying that Israel has offered through the Red Cross to set free 800 Palestinian prisoners in exchange for the eight Israelis held by the PLO.

Briefing the press last week on the negotiations, Aluf (Maj.-Gen.) Moshe Nativ, head of the IDF's manpower branch, said the government is studying the PLO's demands for a prisoner exchange. He noted that the government remains firm in its decision that there can be no withdrawal from Israel's positions in

Lebanon until all Israeli prisoners and the bodies of those killed are returned.

Until very recently, he said, the three Israelis captive in Syria — a pilot, a tank crewman and a truck driver — were held separately, in solitary confinement. They were not permitted to leave their cells, exercise, read, receive packages or mail. On February 14, Red Cross officials were permitted to visit the Israeli prisoners for the first time, and they were then brought together. Nativ said he hoped that they are no longer being held in separate cells.

Israel holds 293 Syrian prisoners, he said. They are permitted regular Red Cross visits, receive mail, mingle together and exercise daily. They are worried by the fact that the Syrian authorities have shown no interest in their fate.

The PLO prisoners are held in the Ansar camp in southern Lebanon. Nativ said that 9,308 prisoners have passed through the camp since the beginning of the war, and 5,099 are still being held.

The Red Cross has a permanent, around-the-clock presence in the camp, and it has seen every prisoner. Nativ noted. The prisoners live in heated tents, and enjoy full medical services and other privileges enjoined by international

convention.
Of the eight prisoners held by the PLO, six have been seen by the Red Cross, and the PLO has permitted frequent access by news media. But Jibril, in spite of promises to the Red Cross and others, has not permitted anyone to visit the two soldiers held by his organization.

Mystery still surrounds the fate of five soldiers captured by the Syrians on June 11 in the Bekaa area of Lebanon. According to other Israeli soldiers in the area, they were alive when captured.

Shortly after that date, the Syrians held a well-publicized burial ceremony for four bodies in the Jewish cemetery of Damascus. But the names given for the four were not those of the missing men. Despite intensive diplomatic efforts since then, the Syrians have refused all appeals for positive identification of the four buried bodies, if indeed there were bodies.

In return for the Israelis it holds captive, the PLO is reported to have demanded the release of all prisoners in the Ansar camp, the return of documents seized by Israel from the Palestinian Research Centre in West Beirut, and the release of 1,000 Palestinians held in Israeli prisons.

Dress code



Israeli manufacturers of fancy-dress costumes, masks and wigs are now required to meet safety standards already in effect for other toys. The new rules impose flammability tests for fabrics and fibres.

But the regulations, which went into effect on January 16, came too late for this year's Purim purchases. Most costumes on the market were never tested for flammability. Such tests were voluntary for Israeli manufacturers, and mandatory only for imported items, until last month's ruling.

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HABIB'S PROGRESS REPORT

(Continued from page 1)

withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, Begin said.

Israel did not agree to the Lebanese demand to deploy UNFIL in the South Lebanon in order to guard the refugee camps, he said.

Israel still insists on having IDF soldiers at observation stations in the south, the prime minister said, without saying how many stations were envisaged or what their

precise nature would be.

In Lebanon itself, soldiers of Major Sa'ad Haddad's South Lebanon militia last week deployed in a show of strength in the village of Jib Jenin, in the eastern sector opposite Syrian lines in the Bekaa.

This deployment is Haddad's northernmost extension of his authority to date. In the past two weeks, his forces have also deployed in Sidon and Nabatiya in the South.

Arab League delegation due in UK next month

LONDON (AP). — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said Friday a much-postponed visit by an Arab League delegation to London has now been set for March 18.

The delegation will come to explain a Middle-East peace initiative drawn up at the Arab summit in Fez, Morocco, last September.

The delegation had been scheduled several times to come to London, but the trip was cancelled when Thatcher refused to see the group if it included a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Now the delegation will include a "representative of the Palestinian people," Thatcher said, but she did not give his name.

Seminar for troops on democracy and media

Some 1,200 soldiers will take part next month in three- or five-day seminars on the mass news media, communications and democracy in Israel, which will stress the need for

tolerance of divergent opinions.

The seminars are being held because of the escalation of political tensions in recent months.

BEGIN IS SCEPTICAL

(Continued from page 1)

flexibility.

In closed sessions, Arafat warned the hardliners that the PLO, after Lebanon, is desperately weak, heretofore a base, and relegated to the role of a political nomad dependent upon the Arab states who have never genuinely aided the Palestinians.

This truth was expressed in public by Issam Sartawi, the PLO moderate, who was not permitted to speak at the Council and walked out.

One Israeli expert on the Palestinians and the PLO, Matti Steinberg of Hebrew University, had a different view of the Alger meeting, seeing a major breakthrough in Palestinian thinking.

"This is the first time in the history of the PLO that all elements of the organization are willing to talk of some settlement with Israel," Steinberg said.

"Their model of such a settlement is far from acceptable to Israel or the U.S. But compared with previous Palestinian positions there is a major shift — they have broken a taboo by agreeing on a model of a settlement which contains an element of mutuality."

Arie (Lova) Eliav, a leading dove and former Labour party secretary-general, said the PNC's green light to Hussein is aimed at pushing Israel into a corner. He deplored the fact that Arafat had not taken "a courageous stand" to advance the peace process, and noted that Sartawi was giggled because he intended to demand recognition of Israel.

Sartawi, known for his contacts with Israeli leftists, bitterly attacked Libya and Syrian-backed PLO hardliners who refused to recognize the reality of their defeat in Lebanon and the rapid *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel. Sartawi, in an interview, said the PNC had failed because the PLO cannot make any political headway without changing

Dry Bones



the Palestinian covenant and being ready to come to terms with Israel.

The council, rejecting the attitude of the hardliners, referred to proposals adopted by Arab leaders at Fez last September as the minimum level for Arab political actions. But it added that this should be "complemented by military action in order to change the military balance of power in favour of the Palestinian struggle and Palestinian rights." (The Fez summit called for a Palestinian state, and the recommendations are widely seen as including an implicit recognition of Israel.)

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir last week was quick to denounce any Palestinian intent to use Hussein as a front man for talks that

would be aimed, ultimately, at giving the PLO control of the administered territories.

In editorial comment, *The Jerusalem Post* said that such a danger "is a figment of the government's imagination. By harping on it, Mr. Shamir only makes it appear as if the PLO and its contortions, as displayed in Algiers, are to be taken seriously."

THE FULL REPORT

The complete text of the Kahan Commission report is available in English. Copies can be obtained for U.S.\$2.50 each (or its equivalent in other currencies) from "The Jerusalem Post," P.O. Box 81, Jerusalem, Israel. The price includes airmail postage.

Sharon request causes surprise

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

Ariel Sharon has filed a formal request with the Treasury to allow him two bureaux, one in Jerusalem and the other in Tel Aviv, in his capacity as minister without portfolio.

Regulations stipulate that a minister without portfolio should have one bureau, one secretary, one driver, one car and one assistant.

"We don't quite know what to make of this," a senior Treasury official in the department which handles the appropriation of state assets said last week. "One would think the former defence minister, who knows the pressures on the budget, would be more savings conscious."

The regulations do stipulate that if a minister without portfolio is asked to assume duties by the prime minister or the cabinet, he will be allotted additional help and space.

At the time of his request, however, Sharon had no special duties other than membership on two committees — defence and Lebanon — neither of which justifies additional office, secretary and all the rest.

Mordechai Ben-Porat, the other minister without portfolio, is responsible for refugees, as well as for another key duty, the exact nature of which has not been published but which is hinted at by Ben-Porat's involvement with the Palastush and with the World Organization of Jews in Arab Countries.

Ben-Porat, however, has one bureau. The government pays a small rent subsidy to WOJAC for office space used by the minister when he works out of that organization.

Israel's new defence minister, former ambassador in Washington Moshe Arens, is taking over office this week.

Arriving back in Israel on Friday, Arens told a crowded news conference at Ben-Gurion Airport that he had not been consulted about the



Defence Minister Moshe Arens is met at Ben-Gurion Airport by Chief of Staff Rafael Eltan, on his arrival home on Friday to take up his new position. (Israel Sun)

decision to make his predecessor a member of the cabinet committees on security and the negotiations with Lebanon.

The defence minister said he did not think he should have been consulted. Sharon, he said, possessed vast experience and his advice would be valued.

Arens said there had been a deceptive headline in the *Los Angeles Times*, concerning his statement on a possible pre-emptive strike at Syria. What he had said in answer to a question was that, if Israel ever found itself in mortal danger, this country would not hesitate to take the necessary steps.

The new minister has already made one appointment, that of Nahman Shui the spokesman at the

Israel Embassy in Washington, as his communications adviser. Shui, a former military correspondent for television, has also served as spokesman for Israel's UN mission.

Michal Yudelman reports:
Some 3,000 Peace Now supporters took part in a march in Tel Aviv on Saturday to protest at former defence minister Ariel Sharon's remaining in the government.

The march and rally passed off without incident, in streets largely deserted because of the cold.

Some marchers took their cue from Eugene Ionesco's play *Rhinoceros* and wore rhino horns, to rebuke those who silently accept Sharon's remaining in the government. (See Pages 9 and 23.)

The Humanist Haggadah

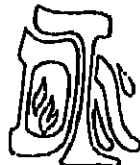
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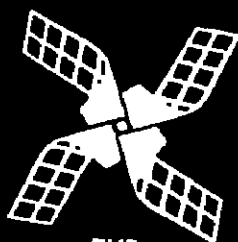
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Five die in mine blasts

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
and LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Security forces have found tracks in the central Negev area where five Beduin were killed and four injured when their vehicles hit mines before dawn on Friday. So far, however, the tracks have provided no definite clues as to who the attackers were.

Military sources said they believed terrorists had laid the mines some 10 kilometres south of Tze'elim. According to Nitzav-Mishne Haim Elbaldes, the commander of the Negev police district, the route the Beduin were travelling leads to Egypt. The mines were laid about eight kilometres from the border.

The Beduin were searching at night for mushrooms when a van hit a mine, hitting three persons and injuring two.

One of the survivors rushed to the tribe's encampment for help. Four persons hurrying to the rescue in another van were about a kilometre from the first car when they hit another mine. Two men were killed.

The area was sealed off and extensive searches began.

Arab land protest

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Representatives of the Israeli Arab population have asked the Interior Ministry to cancel the decision to appropriate some 150,000 dunams (37,500 acres) of land belonging to Arab residents to the jurisdiction of Miguv, a new regional council in Galilee. They made the request last week at a national conference in Shfarum township in the presence of several hundred dignitaries, including five Knesset members and 26 chairmen of local councils.

Prayer delay averted Hebron mosque tragedy

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A booby-trapped bomb exploded outside a mosque in Hebron on Friday at mid-day, shortly before worshippers ended their prayers there.

Two local residents were slightly injured when the device went off under a pile of stones next to the mosque. Both the wounded were treated at the local Alia hospital; one was moved later to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, where he is under police guard. Two cars parked in the area were seriously damaged. Police are still investigating the nature of the device.

Hebron mayor Mustafa Nebi Naishe said that it was only by chance that more people were not injured, since prayers in this particular mosque in the market had

been slightly delayed. Prayers in other mosques had ended and people were leaving, he said, adding, "If they find the people who attacked the mayors three years ago, you will find the people who planted this bomb."

In June 1980, bombs were planted in the cars of three leading West Bank mayors, and a booby-trapped grenade was placed outside a girls' school in Hebron. No one has ever been detained in connection with these attacks in which two of the mayors were seriously injured and an Israeli bomb-disposal expert was blinded.

The General Security Service, charged with the investigation, is reliably reported to have focused on ultra-nationalist Jewish settlers as suspects, but with little apparent result.



Prime Minister Menachem Begin addresses the closing session of the Third World Assembly of Jewish War Veterans in Jerusalem.

(Rahumim Israeli)

FEARS OVER SOVIET-SYRIAN MOVES

(Continued from page 1)

sibility of closing the Syrian-Lebanese border, which would be nearly fatal for Lebanon's economy.

The Syrians know the Israeli public is in no mood for more casualties in Lebanon, and believe that weather conditions rule out an action now. Furthermore, Syrian assessments of the size of Israeli forces that could be effectively thrown into an attack at short notice have also led them to conclude that an attack is not feasible.

The Syrians are not averse to Israel's permanently inheriting the problems of the political instability in the South. This would lead to sizeable Israeli forces being tied down in the South. This would compensate Syria for the serious military imbalance since Israel signed a peace treaty with Egypt.

The worst thing that could happen to the Syrians, experts say, is an Israeli-Lebanese-American agreement at the talks. "But the chances of an agreement being reached that is acceptable to the Syrians is highly improbable," they say.

Because of these factors—the ability of the Syrians to influence the Lebanese at the negotiating table, the lack of any real pressure on the Syrians, the deepened Soviet commitment to Syria, and Syria's conviction that Israel will not act militarily—the experts are unanimous that the chances of a

withdrawal from Lebanon in the foreseeable future are extremely low. But the probability of tension, and possible conflict, between Israel and Syria seems high.

Washington correspondent Wolf Blitzer adds:

More than 130 retired U.S. generals and admirals have written to President Ronald Reagan warning that the Soviet Union may be tempted to encourage Syria to provoke another round of military hostilities against Israel.

The full text of the letter and its signatories was published as a full-page advertisement in Sunday's New York Times. It was sponsored by the Centre for International Security, a private Washington "think tank," headed by Joseph Churbat, a former U.S. military intelligence analyst.

The letter calls on Reagan to recognize that Israel's routing of

Soviet-supplied Syrian and PLO forces in Lebanon last summer has raised serious questions about the viability of Soviet weaponry and military doctrine.

The retired senior officers also referred to the "ominous" introduction of Soviet-supplied SAM-5s in Syria, calling it "a possible harbinger of future Russian aggression."

Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson writing in The Washington Post on Friday, quoted intelligence sources as believing the Kremlin will try to "goad its Syrian clients into another air battle with Israel sometime soon, whether the Syrians like the idea or not." Anderson said the "Soviet high command desperately needs to know whether the latest surface-to-air missile systems it has deployed in Syria are vulnerable to Israeli pilots in their American-made aircraft."

Terrorists returning to Beirut

Post Defence Correspondent

Several hundred terrorists have returned to West Beirut, The Jerusalem Post learns. They are re-establishing contacts and opening arms caches, despite "serious" attempts by the Lebanese authorities to prevent them from doing so.

The main PLO infrastructure is in Palestinian institutions that remained active in the city after the

PLO's expulsion last year. These include Tsumud, the Palestinian industrial coordinating body that has factories, import agencies and financial concerns; the Red Crescent; the Palestinian maritime agency and welfare organizations.

There are an estimated 7,000 terrorists in Lebanon, the rest in areas under Syrian control. Their main centres are in Tripoli and the Bekaa.



Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek explains the route of the Via Dolorosa to his New York counterpart Edward Koch. The map is mounted on the wall of a garden built with contributions from New Yorkers at the start of the Christian pilgrims' way at St. Stephen's Gate. (Zoom 77.)

Celebrations mark Purim

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Shops throughout the country did a brisk trade in masks, costumes and noisemakers for the Purim holiday, which fell on Sunday in most of the country.

The holiday, which celebrates the deliverance of the Jews of Shushan, the wicked Haman through Queen Esther's intercession with King Ahasuerus, is traditionally observed by reading the Book of Esther in the synagogue, sending gifts of food (mishloach manot) to friends and giving gifts to poor people.

To mark the fact that the deliverance of the Jews of Shushan, the capital, took place a day later, those in towns that were walled in the time of Joshua (such as Jerusalem) celebrate the holiday a day later, beginning Sunday night. In localities about which there is doubt as to when they became walled,

Purim is celebrated on both days.

The central festivities in Jerusalem were to take place downtown on Monday, with a central entertainment stand, dance groups and giant puppets.

Elsewhere in the city, there were numerous celebrations at community centres, youth clubs and homes for the aged.

Israel Television was to broadcast the reading of the Book of Esther direct from the Alia youth village near Petah Tikva.

Mothers who had spent hours making their children's Purim costumes were distressed by the almost continual nasty weather of rain, sleet and snow in most parts of the country, which ruined the most fragile costumes. But children who woke up to see a bit of snow outside were cheered by the unusual Purim weather.

Netanya team way ahead

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Two goals by Oded Machness gave Maccabi Netanya a convincing 2-0 home win over hard-playing Maccabi Tel Aviv to put the Netanya team an overwhelming 15 points clear at the top of the National Soccer League. Whilst the championship title looks certain to return to Netanya this year, a wide open struggle mounts for second spot, which means a place in the European Interoto competition in the summer. The effort to avoid relegation is still bubbling.

Maccabi Tel Aviv, Hapoel Tel Aviv, Shimon and Beersheba are split by a single point, while Bnei Yehuda and Petah Tikva are only two further points adrift. On the other hand seven teams have relegation worries.

National League

Hapoel Beersheba 2, Maccabi Haifa 0
Hapoel Tel Aviv 2, Maccabi Tel Aviv 0
Maccabi Netanya 2, Maccabi Tel Aviv 0
Hapoel Tel Aviv 1, Shimon 0
Bnei Yehuda 2, Hapoel Ramat Gan 0
Maccabi Tel Aviv 1, Beitar Jerusalem 1
Hapoel Jerusalem 1, Hapoel Yehud postponed
Hapoel Kfar Sava 1, Maccabi Yotvata postponed

Standings, after 19 games:

	W	D	L	Goals	Pts
Netanya	14	3	2	41:20	35
Maccabi Tel Aviv	7	9	3	31:09	30
Hapoel Tel Aviv	7	6	5	16:13	30
Shimon	7	8	4	21:15	29
Beersheba	7	8	4	19:15	29
Bnei Yehuda	6	9	4	13:12	27
Maccabi Tel Aviv	7	6	6	19:21	27
Maccabi Haifa	5	9	6	18:21	24
Yotvata	4	9	7	23:22	21
Yotvata	4	9	5	16:20	21
Ramat Gan	3	11	5	9:13	20
Yehud	4	8	6	10:17	20
Jaffa	3	10	6	14:17	19
Kfar Sava	3	7	8	20:25	16
Beitar Jem	2	10	7	21:26	16
Hapoel Jem	4	4	10	17:32	16

THE WEATHER

Rain and cold swept most parts of the country for much of last week, and in Jerusalem and Safed there were falls of snow. In Eilat, however, the beaches were filled with sunbathers. The rain is expected to ease this week, with a rise in temperatures.

	Saturday's Low-High	Sunday's High
Jerusalem	0-4	3
Nahariya	6-12	10
Safed	-3-3	2
Tiberias	-11	0
Na'ara	1-11	6
Tel Aviv	8-12	12
Eilat	10-15	15

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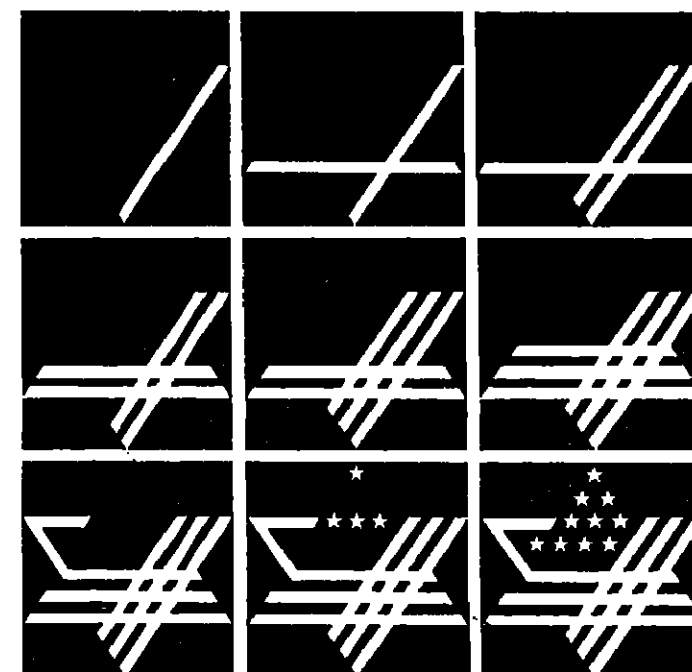
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MKs clash over move to extend terms of two chief rabbis

Jerusalem Post Staff
A coalition campaign to extend the terms of Israel's two chief rabbis for a year was set back last week when a Knesset vote on the government's bill postponing the Chief Rabbinate elections was delayed.

Liberal Party members of the coalition balked at Prime Minister Menachem Begin's demand to impose coalition discipline on the issue, and therefore the vote was postponed until this week.

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, a Liberal whose father was once Sephardi chief rabbi, demanded a free vote on the proposal to extend the terms of Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren and Sephardi Chief Rabbi David Yosef as part of a comprehensive "reform" of the Chief Rabbinate system. "They want to stay in their posts till all eternity," he said.

Shulamit Aloni (Alignment-

CRM) lashed out at the proposal: "The Chief Rabbinate is a non-democratic institution sustained by the Knesset, a democratic body. Who needs a Chief Rabbinate anyway? Let our two popes finish their terms and retire."

Speaking for the proposed bill, Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer, who is standing in for Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg, who is on a trip abroad, said: "We appeal to all factions to join us in delaying the Chief Rabbinate elections, scheduled for March 15, for a year. During that period we shall formulate certain changes in the Chief Rabbinate. We would alter the procedures for choosing the Supreme Rabbinical tribunal and, perhaps, do away with the Ashkenazi-Sephardi dichotomy so that Israel will have only one chief rabbi. After all, we are one people." The amendment would postpone the vote to March 1984.



Attending the annual ceremony last week to commemorate the IDF fallen whose place of burial is not known, were Prime Minister Menachem Begin (second from left), President Yitzhak Navon (on his left) and then, in order, Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren, and former chief of staff Mordechai Gur. The ceremony took place on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem, near the monument to the lost submarine, Dakar. (Rahamim Israeli)

World Jewish war veterans meet

More than 1,000 Jewish war veterans from 10 countries held a four-day conference in Jerusalem last week. They include Jews who fought in World War II.

The Third World Assembly of Jewish War Veterans, chaired by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, condemned international terror and anti-Semitism.

The official opening ceremony was held in the Jerusalem Hilton. It began with a memorial for Haim Laskov, the former chief of staff who died earlier this year.

President Yitzhak Navon and Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek greeted the participants. The

veterans also met Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan.

Discussions centered around the topic "Israel's image in the world." In his address, President Navon took issue with former European Parliament president Simone Veil, a Holocaust survivor who recently called for an end to the hunt for Nazi war criminals with the exception of Auschwitz Dr. Josef Mengele. "I think this is an error," said Navon. "Not only must justice be done for as long as possible, but a new generation which does not want to believe that the Holocaust took place must learn that humans can do such horrible things."

Monument to Coastal Road victims

TEL AVIV — Transport Minister Haim Corfu promised last week that the Peace for Galilee operation will end when Israeli residents are no longer threatened by terrorist attacks.

Corfu was speaking at the unveiling of a monument to the 35 persons killed by terrorists who had hijacked an Egged bus on the Coastal

Road five years ago. About half those killed were Egged members and their families.

Corfu said that immediately after that terrorist attack five years ago, Israel launched the Litani operation in Lebanon, but that did not rid the country of the terrorist threat. Thus the need for the Peace for Galilee operation which has not yet been completed.

Prisoners slam rehabilitation measures

RAMLE. — Released prisoners are rejected by Israeli society and rehabilitation programmes are virtually non-existent, Ramle prisoners stated during a stormy symposium.

"Society demands that we rehabilitate ourselves, but makes it impossible to do so," said one prisoner.

3 brothers held in Tel Aviv murder

TEL AVIV — Three brothers, proprietors of a well-known Tel Aviv restaurant, were detained last week as suspects in the murder of Yehonatan Alterowitz outside his home in Rehov Uvshikin last Sunday evening. Police believe that the youngest brother, a Tel Avivian aged 25 and single, committed the murder with the help of the other two, one of them from Gdudim, aged 30, and the other, from Rishon Le-Zion, aged 32.

Police got onto the tracks of the trio when an investigation of Alterowitz's affairs showed he had business connections with the brothers. One theory is that the brothers suspected Alterowitz, an employee of the Moritz and Tuchler brokerage firm, of defrauding them of sums of money he had invested for them in the stock market. This same theory holds that when Alterowitz refused to return the money, the brothers decided to murder him.

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Shostak: no money to improve hospitals

By AARON SITTNER

Health Minister Eliezer Shostak last week admitted that the country's health services are in a very bad state, "because of budgetary problems and long neglect."

Replying in the Knesset to an urgent motion for the agenda by Labour MK Nava Arad, Shostak said there are hospitals where "equipment should be replaced urgently, but this cannot be done because we do not have the money."

Referring to doctors' wage demands, Shostak said the government is prepared to give them a 22 per cent raise immediately — "but not more than that, since that would be a violation of the framework wage agreement between the government and the Histadrut."

Shostak has been involved in a

last-ditch effort to save off a doctors' strike. The government and health fund doctors, who have been working without contracts since last year, are not satisfied with a 22 per cent pay increase.

(At week's end Shostak promised he would press Treasury Minister Yoram Aridor to increase doctors' wages.)

In her question Arad said that Israel's public health infrastructure may collapse in a week or two if the doctors go on strike. She urged the minister to wind up wage talks, which have been dragging on for 10 months.

Citing the acute shortage of hospital beds, medical equipment and staff, Arad said the average hourly wage of a government-employed doctor is "far below that of all other workers in the free professions."

She said Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, by withholding funds from the Health Ministry, is aiming to abolish public-health services and force 350,000 indigent Israelis to pay private doctors' fees.

Arad said two thirds of a doctor's pay consists of overtime, stand-by duty and emergency-service compensation. As for basic pay, she said that at Haim Sheba Medical Centre, 32 per cent of the doctors earn between IS50 and IS70 shekels an hour (IS37 = \$11); 17 per cent between IS70 and IS90; 20 per cent between IS90 and IS100; 7 per cent between IS100 and IS110 and IS120, and 5 per cent between IS120 and IS140 an hour.

Menahem Porush (Agudat Yisrael), Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee chairman, appealed to the Israel Medical Association to defer its strike.

New approach to mental care

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — There are 8,500 beds in Israel's mental hospitals, but the number is decreasing due to improved ambulatory and day care. Less than 10 per cent of the patients, two-thirds of them men, were committed involuntarily, mostly at the request of their families, according to Dr. Yigal Ginat, deputy district psychiatrist in Beersheba and director of that city's mental-health centre.

Speaking at an international congress on Psychiatry, Law and Ethics in Haifa last week, Ginat said that external stress situations, such as war, tend to reduce the number of mental patients. This had been proved again and again in Israel, and probably occurs because such

situations "make everybody put their private troubles into perspective, and they often forget them."

In a paper delivered with Jerusalem district psychiatrist Dr. Yair Barel, Ginat examined compulsory hospitalization procedures under Israeli law. They are considered among the most advanced, but the doctors propose additional safeguards against unjustified commitment, and the provision of definitions for key terms such as "mental illness" and "dangerous." Guidelines should also be provided on the type and weight of evidence to be considered by district psychiatrists who have the power to order commitment, as well as further safeguards for the patient already hospitalized, they said.

Yad Vashem honours West German couple

Ester Maria Seidel of West Germany received a medal and planted a tree at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem last week in recognition of risks taken by her and her late husband Hans to save two Jewish sisters.

Valerie Wolfenstein, now of Giessen, Germany, was a childhood friend of Seidel in Berlin, where they lived until 1942. In that year,

the Seidels moved to Munich, and shortly afterwards, Wolfenstein and her sister had to go into hiding. The German couple made arrangements for their well-being, first in the village of Tinnering, then with a doctor in Munich, and finally in their own home.

Ester Maria Seidel, who now lives in a retirement home in Munich, is currently visiting Israel.

A bonanza from Baltimore

WE REJOICED, once again, to see a thick envelope in the mail from Baltimore with another large contribution from members of the Beth Tefillah Congregation and their friends.

Last week's contributions amounted to

IS23,627.40 and brought our total to IS1,253,687.94.

Donors are:

5478 Collected by Rose Davidson and Herman Needle in the name of the Beth Tefillah Congregation, Baltimore, Maryland (IS2; Samuel and Anne Spector, Louis and Bettye Berman, Yale and Shirley Goldman, Sanford and Harriet Wool, Besie Salkin, Julius and Ernestine Westheimer, Alan and Bernice Schapiro, Rose M. Ruffel; IS20: Frieda C. Grant, Jay H. Salkin; IS16: Inge Falk Baron; IS15: Murray and Lilian Slukin; IS18: Helen and Leonard Sollins, M. Leo and Hannah Storch, Stanley L. Cahn, Herman Reznick, Rebecca B. Rudo, Melvin I. Goldberg, Albert and Sally Horne, Mayne Oberfeld, Alfred Sifberg, Albert H. Blum, Daniel Schapiro, Seymour M. Fishman, Mr. and Mrs. David Berkow, Frank Allertun, Charlotte R. Davidson, Besie Fishman, Nathan Klein, Morton and Selma Miller, Florence M. Berlin, SS: Sara R. Gann, Harry and Fannie Wolpert, Goodwin and Bernice Solins.)

Aust IS100 Mrs. Sylvia Friedman, Melbourne, Australia, in honour of her 50th wedding anniversary; IS750 Shimon Karon, Rishon LeZion

IS800 In memory of Dr. and Mrs. Salmon Zuckerman — O. Schwelzer, Tel Aviv. IS10 In memory of my father, Bernice Wagenheim, a most charitable man — Reuben and Sheila Wagenheim, Cape Town, S.A.

IS300 Pinhas and Shoshana Fenster, Patah Tikva.

IS200 Ralph and Elly Schlein, Jerusalem.

Sophie Agranovich, Tel Aviv.

IS180 Anonymous, Rishon LeZion.

IS100 In memory of my parents, Max and Tamara Abster, from whom I learnt to give. Nina Peleg, Kibbutz Ein Hamifratz.

IS18 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

IS23,627.40 and brought our total to IS1,253,687.94.

Donations of IS33,663.70 increased the total of our "Forsake Me Not" fund to IS1,615,870.13.

Contributions should be addressed clearly to the Toy Fund and/or to the "Forsake Me Not" fund to The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem, Israel.

IS5,000 Anonymous, Ramat Gan.

IS100 Anonymous, Jerusalem. In everlasting memory of the six million who died in the Holocaust — Harry Maskell, Vancouver, Canada.

IS1,000 In honour of Shlomo — Steve and Ruthie, Jerusalem.

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IS35 Harry and Clara Basan, Birmingham, AL.

IS1,200 Pinchas and Shoshana Fenster, Patah Tikva.

IS1,000 From people at the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University.

IS1,000 A 3rd contribution from bridge players in Rehovot, N. Laufer, Jerusalem.

IS1,000 In memory of my beloved parents Rachel and Albert Madjar — S. Madjar, Holon.

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Index-link for 'ketuba'

By LEA LEVAVI

TEL AVIV. — The minimum amount a man must promise his bride in the marriage contract, set 30 years ago at IS20, will be brought up to date and linked to the cost-of-living index, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren promised Na'amat secretary-general Masha Lubelsky.

Cases handled by Na'amat's legal-aid bureau include many involving widowed or divorced women in difficult economic straits because their *ketuba*, the only legal safeguard of a wife's security if the marriage is dissolved, mentioned a ridiculously low sum.

In one case, for example, a husband deserted his wife to live with a mistress. When he died, the wife discovered that he had willed everything to his mistress, and she could claim only the amount in their marriage contract.

In another case, a man received permission to marry a second wife because his first wife was ill. He was required to deposit three times the promised sum with the rabbinical court for her support. The amount written in that *ketuba* was IS100, five times the minimum, but the resulting IS300 (IS8) obviously did not support the sick wife for long.

At Goren's suggestion, Na'amat has formally petitioned the Chief

Rabbinate Council to bring the *ketuba* minimum up to date. Na'amat will leave the amount to the rabbis' discretion, but Lubelsky added that if asked for a recommendation, she will say the minimum should be IS50,000, linked to the index.

Another issue that Lubelsky raised with Goren, but with less promising results, was *halitza*, a problem that arises anew with each war. Under Jewish law, childless widows are required either to marry their husband's brother or to receive his dispensation (*halitza*) to marry another.

In the Middle Ages, rabbis got around this by allowing a condition to be made at the time of marriage that if the husband dies leaving the widow childless, she will be considered divorced and will not need *halitza*. But Goren said he does not believe any rabbi will have the courage to adopt this or any other solution today, because Orthodoxy is becoming more intransigent.

He suggested that rabbis solve the problem by having men jailed to force them to agree to *halitza*, or making them give the widow such high support payments that they would want to be rid of her. Na'amat is not satisfied with this solution.

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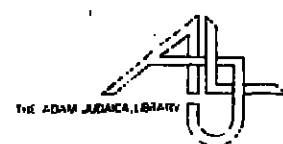
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Lankin 'No' to UK post

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Because of the British government's strong indications that it would not approve his appointment as ambassador to London, Eliahu Lankin, a pre-State underground fighter, has decided to continue as ambassador to South Africa.

Lankin made his decision known to the Foreign Ministry last week. It throws open the race for the London post, vacant for nine months since the wounding of Shimon Argov by Arab terrorists. Broadcasting Authority chairman Reuven Yaron was again mentioned as a candidate.

Before the future over Lankin's proposed appointment — plainly inspired by government circles there — Lankin's appointment was a virtual certainty.

There were fears that if Israel had pressed ahead with Lankin's appointment despite the outcry in Britain, the British Foreign Office might have denied the formal approval of a host government must give.

In editorial comment before Lankin's decision, *The Jerusalem Post* commented on the anti-Lankin protest in the British media and political community.

"There can be no doubt that the Argov, and its excesses, were

phenomena that reflected the despair of the Jewish People during the period of the Holocaust. This despair was at times turned into frenzy due to the cultousness and even enmity of large sections of the British political leadership during those tragic times.

"Britain under the Attlee-Begin government of 1945-48 was the enemy of the Jewish People.

"In the years after World War II, Britain proceeded to divest itself of its far-flung colonies. It frequently was confronted — and justly provoked — by numerous indigenous guerilla armies.

"When those fights were finished, Britain knew how to receive graciously such former 'terrorist' leaders as the late President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus. Israel had the right to expect similar realism and reconciliation."

Meanwhile, Ambassador to France Meir Rosenne is being talked about with virtual certainty as Israel's next ambassador to Washington, informed sources at the Foreign Ministry said last week, but Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has not finally decided.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin is said to favour Rosenne.

Syria bars snow rescue attempt

American and Italian troops trying to reach scores of motorists trapped in the snow-bound Lebanese mountains last week abandoned the attempt because Syrian troops controlling the disaster zone refused to let them in, according to news agency reports.

At least 50 persons have so far been found frozen to death on a bleak stretch of the main Beirut-Damascus highway in the worst natural disaster to hit Lebanon for years.

A U.S. Marines spokesman said the Syrian army, which controls the worst affected part of the highway, had given permission for the Americans to try to rescue people by helicopter but not to come in by road.

Support for Israel

NEW YORK. — Results of a Gallup public-opinion poll released last week indicate that the sympathies of the American public have gone back up to what they were before the Lebanon war: in favour of Israel, 49 per cent, in favour of the Arab nations, 12 per cent.

The poll was based on interviews that took place between January 21 and January 30, with a nationwide sample of 1,515 adults.



The Python 3, Rafael's new air combat missile

New Israeli air missile

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Defence Reporter

A new Israeli-produced air-to-air missile called Python 3 which downed several enemy aircraft during the Lebanon war, was unveiled by the defence establishment last week.

The Python 3 is equalled in the West only by missiles produced by the U.S. and France, said Ze'ev Benon director of the Defence Ministry's Armaments Development Authority (Rafael) which produced the missile.

The three metre-long 120 kilo missile will replace the Shafrir 2 which became operational in 1969. The Shafrir 2 is not suitable for modern air battles, according to Benon.

A pilot wishing to fire the heat-seeking Shafrir 2 has to maneuver behind the enemy airplane.

The Python 3 is also a heat-seeking missile but has a super-sensitive infra-red detector and can be fired from "practically any" direction.

It can be launched from a minimum distance of 500 metres during close air combat to a maximum of 15 kilometres in long-range interception.

Bonen said the Python 3 is "more or less" equal to the U.S. Sidewinder 9L which was sold to Saudi Arabia.

He confirmed it had been successfully used in the Lebanon war but did not give details.

Bonen hopes that Israel will be able to export the missile at this year's Paris Air Show. Several countries have so far shown interest in it, but Benon would not disclose details nor give the missile's price.

Hopes for Shcharansky parole

Anatoly Shcharansky could be released from prison before serving out his 13-year sentence on charges of espionage, the official news agency Tass said last week.

But it warned that "noisy propaganda campaigns" in the West would not help his case, and it bitterly condemned appeals for his freedom from western leaders.

The Tass comment was the second indication that Moscow might consider reducing the jail term handed down to Shcharansky in 1978.

Last month French Communist leader Georges Marchais said Soviet leader Yuri Andropov had told him in a letter that Shcharansky might benefit from parole.

In Jerusalem, Jewish Agency sources suggested that the Tass

statement was probably aimed at lowering the public outcry about Shcharansky and other prisoners of Zion, with hundreds of Soviet Jewry activists meeting in Jerusalem next month for an international conference to increase Russian immigration to Israel.

Other sources suggested that the Soviet leaders might be planning to release Shcharansky or another prisoner of Zion to dampen criticism of the fact that a minimum of emigration visas have been granted in recent months.

A public council to free Prisoner of Zion Yosef Begun was formed at the Knesset last week, with Education Minister Zevulun Hammer.

Other councils exist to free Ida Nudel and Shcharansky.

Six held for harassing marchers

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Jerusalem police have detained six of the persons who allegedly attacked the Peace Now march and demonstration on February 10 in which demonstrator Emil Grunzweig was killed in a grenade attack. But they reported no progress toward finding the murderer.

The police said last week that between 20 and 28 persons have been identified in photographs and video tapes as those who harassed the marchers. The only one who has been brought to court for remand is a young man, whose name the court has banned from publication, who allegedly taunted and threatened Grunzweig along the route of the march.

Among those against whom the police have filed charges is Kach leader Rabbi Meir Kahane, who is accused of incitement and disorderly conduct.

Meanwhile, about 500 Jews, most of them young and religious, assembled last week in a grazing area just off the main road to the Arab

village of Dahariya, south of Hebron, to mourn the death of Esther Ohana, 22, of Beit She'an on February 16.

She died of her wounds after the car in which she was travelling was stoned in the village three weeks ago.

A platform was erected and a memorial flame was lit. Beit She'an Mayor Yitzhak Keinan said that his town had been joined in blood with Kiryat Arba to commemorate Chana's name, but he decried vengeance. "We have not come to throw stones in Dahariya, we are here with a hand extended in peace."

But Rabbi Moshe Levinger of Kiryat Arba, quoting chapter and verse, called repeatedly for blood. "He who does not mete out death to murderers, to all those who throw stones, is himself responsible for the murder of Esther Ohana. God is the Lord of vengeance. A normal situation calls for love, singing and friendship — but there comes a moment for vengeance...and the moment is now," he said.

ISSUES

Sharon: what influence now?

TEL AVIV. — Opposition spokesmen were flabbergasted by last week's cabinet decision to include ousted defence minister Ariel Sharon in the cabinet security committee and the cabinet negotiating team with Lebanon.

Labour Party secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev said that the decision was "adding insult to injury." Former justice minister Haim Zadok said that though the government was behaving within the letter of the law in the wake of the Kahan Commission, which recommended that Sharon quit his post or be fired, this was "morally and politically indefensible."

Shinui chairman Amnon Rubinstein, who had led the campaign in the Knesset to set up the Kahan commission of inquiry, charged that the cabinet was "diluting the intention of the commission." He told *The Jerusalem Post* that this was done in two stages: first, by leaving Sharon in the cabinet, and second, by letting him play a part in precisely those policy-making areas where the commission had found him at fault.

But the two cabinet committees with important-sounding titles have relatively little involvement in day-to-day running of affairs, writes Knesset Correspondent Asher Wallfish.

The Ministerial Security Committee includes three-quarters of the cabinet and is an unwieldy body which rarely meets more than once a month, since Begin prefers to settle important issues either with two or three top colleagues, or in the cabinet as a whole.

A cabinet source said that Sharon could not possibly play a dominant role on the Ministerial Security Committee, but at the same time could, if he was so inclined, contribute some valuable insight.

Another cabinet source said he "did not think that the various ministers responsible for their separate fields of activity in Judea and Samaria would relinquish any of their responsibility to Sharon."

The steering committee on the Lebanese negotiations has met three times in the last three weeks to settle questions of general principle.

Apart from Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, and (previously) Sharon, this body also includes Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Deputy Premier Simha Ehrlich.

Meanwhile, the cabinet held a brief meeting in the Knesset last week and decided unanimously to propose ambassador to Washington Moshe Arens as the next defence minister.

Later, the Knesset ratified Arens' appointment in a 61 to 51 vote.

Arens returned to Israel in time to participate in Sunday's cabinet meeting. He was accompanied by military attache Menahem Meron and embassy spokesman Nahman Shai, both of whom are said to be in line for senior Defence Ministry posts.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin decided to propose Arens last week after Liberal Party cabinet ministers informed him that they would not oppose Arens' joining the cabinet before the Liberals get their sixth cabinet member.

"In an interview with French television, Arens said that Sharon, as minister without portfolio, would have no authority over the IDF.

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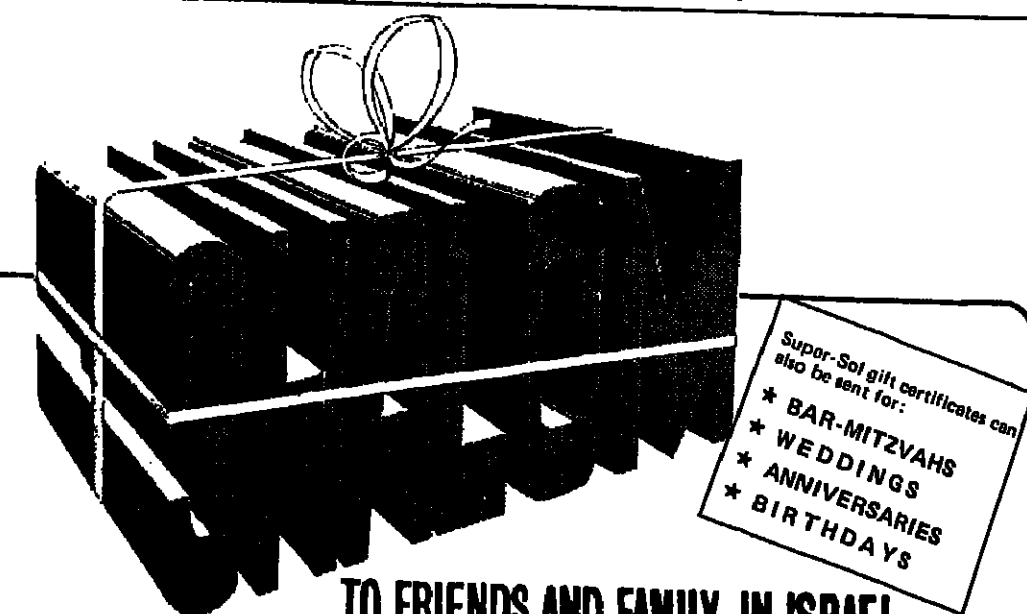
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Israel democracy's fragile base

A DEMOCRACY is like a precision instrument. As long as it is functioning properly, no one worries about what holds it together and keeps it going. But once it malfunctions, the mechanism suddenly seems so complicated and delicate that one wonders how it ever worked in the first place.

The hand grenade thrown at the Peace Now demonstration in early February did not shatter our democratic institutions, but it blew away enough of our complacency to force us to face some unpleasant facts. The foundations of Israeli democracy are not as sound as many of us had thought.

Paradoxically, the main foundations of a democracy are not at the bottom of the system, at the mass level, but at the top, at the level of the political elites who compete for the right to rule.

Research has shown that the attitudes of the masses towards democracy, or rather the procedures and institutions that comprise it, are often remote from the idealized notions taught in school or propounded from the rostrum of parliament. For example, research in the U.S., "the citadel of the free world," revealed a considerable gap between public adherence to the abstract ideal of free speech and the willingness to extend that right to groups viewed as enemies of the state — or even to groups not far beyond the political mainstream.

In American academic circles, the story is told of an enterprising researcher who wanted to see how people would react to a petition supporting fundamental principles enshrined in the Bill of Rights, without revealing their origin. He was surprised to find a considerable number of people who rejected the petition as some "left-wing conspiracy."

Mass attitudes towards democratic rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and the right to a fair trial are certainly no better in Israel. They probably are worse in some respects. Many Americans may be intolerant of political opponents, but at least they uphold the value of tolerance as part of what it means to be an American. These values are part of their personal and collective identity, even if they are often violated in practice, or not extended equally to all groups.

IN THIS COUNTRY, it is far from obvious that adherence to democratic values, even as lip-service, is an intrinsic part of what it means to be an Israeli. For many Jews, whether from Europe or the Middle East, an equation of democratic values with Zionism or Israeli identity might seem odd. Democratic values would in any case be of lesser importance to them than, say, a belief in the unity of the Jewish people or in its eternal right to Eretz Yisrael.

For most people, democracy may not be in conflict with Zionist values, as it is for Rabbi Meir Kahane. But it may simply be irrelevant. For them, *lehbiyot an ha'gshi be'eretza* ("to be a free people in our land"), means first and foremost freedom from foreign domination, not the right to criticize the government and demonstrate against it. This is especially true if the critics and demonstrators are perceived or portrayed as threatening what being Israeli is "really" all

The popularity of the right-wing values of 'land, people and tradition' makes democracy seem irrelevant to many Israelis, writes CHARLES HOFFMAN. Israel's government, which is devoted to these values above all else, should not be surprised when those who dissent are termed 'traitors' by Likud supporters, or by the consequent violence that follows. The Likud is responsible for the recent reckless attacks on the fragile foundations of democracy, says the writer.



A march through Samaria. The issue of Land has brought deep division. (Rubinger)

about. Democracy here or elsewhere would have minimal chances of survival if it depended only on a strong correspondence between popular attitudes and formal institutions.

The foundations of democracy are thus to be found among the agreements forged by political elites to uphold democratic institutions. Historically, competing elites have in many cases created or managed to maintain democracies because it was preferable to continual bloodletting between rival groups, because it provided all contenders for power with a chance at office, or because it served an overriding national interest. The role of genuine commitment to democratic values should not be ignored, but it can easily be over-rated.

Israeli democracy was cradled in the political arrangements of Zionism that aimed at expanding the movement's support among Jews and, at sharing the risks and benefits of building the Land among parties in the movement. When the fragile consensus between the Labour Movement and Revisionism broke down in the face of conflicting interpretations of the national interest, dissidence and violence was the result.

BOTH LABOUR and Revisionism incorporated democratic values into their respective ideologies, the former from democratic socialism and the latter from liberalism. Yet for Revisionism and later Herut, democratic values were surpassed in importance by the classic right-wing value-complex of land, people and tradition. While historically the Mapai strand of Labour put democracy higher on its scale of values than did its main challengers on left and right (Mapam and Herut), its commitment to democratic practices was for many years tempered by its belief that the survival and prosperity of the state depended on continued Mapai rule.

Just one example of Mapai's "pragmatic" approach can be found in what may be called 'Ma'abara democracy' of the early years of the state, when politically naive immigrants were bought, sold and in general manipulated to serve the ends of the ruling party machine. The impact of this experience on many Oriental immigrants has had a lasting effect, and has not been dulled even by a generation of government lessons given to their children in the schools.

The Likud eventually reaped the benefits of this convergence of ex-

perience and mass attitudes. Its stress on land, people and tradition, together with its exalting of a father figure, has echoed the sentiments of most Oriental and many European immigrants who seem to have passed them on to their children. Since the Six Day War, Labour too has been swept up in the resurgent popularity of the triad of land, people and tradition, and its own distinctive message has been blurred. Ironically, this occurred as Labour governments since 1967 strengthened Israeli democracy by reducing politicization and by enhancing the rule of law.

In sum, the democratic contract between Mapai and its main rivals in the past was based on toleration of political opposition as long as it did not threaten Mapai rule, which it indeed failed to do for many years. Herut made the most of its political opportunities, which included demagogic exploitation of Mapai's 'faults', but continued to seethe with resentment against the restrictive Mapai regime.

THUS WHEN the Likud — or rather Herut — came to power in 1977, it did not feel bound by a democratic compact between ruling party and opposition based on

reciprocity and shared value commitments, since this never existed in the first place. Many Herut leaders thus felt few compunctions about exploiting opportunities to cast the opposition, be it Labour or Peace Now, in the role of "traitors," "fifth-columnists," "American agents," "PLO-supporters" and so forth.

The alliance that now rules Israel is between Herut and the elements that share its devotion to the right-wing value triad and to its questionable corollary that anyone who threatens these values is a traitor. Most of the Herut leaders who make such unbridled attacks on the opposition do not really intend, I believe, to spark mob violence against it. They are simply doing their cynical best to discredit the opposition by the classic method of impugnig its motives. But on the other hand they shouldn't be surprised when their followers draw what seems to them to be the obvious conclusion, that the only solution for traitors is to put them up against the wall. "First the leaders do it, and then the followers over-do it," an astute student of social movements once said.

THE CLUMSY attempt by Herut spokesmen to create the illusion of symmetry in this outrageous behaviour towards political opponents just won't wash. The Alignment may be guilty of some verbal excesses — after all it has yet to adjust to its unfamiliar role of opposition, responsible or otherwise. But just who is the Alignment or Peace Now supposed to be inciting? Their supporters in the salons of North Tel Aviv? A militant class-conscious proletariat straining at the bit, waiting for the signal to smash the capitalist regime? A radical mass of students looking for the first opportunity to set up barricades against the reactionary regime?

Clearly, the more hot-headed spokesmen on the left have no one to incite except each other. Herut, on the other hand, is playing with fire, with its cynical exploitation of the emotions of the more volatile and frustrated elements among its supporters.

Democracy rests mainly on a foundation of mutual tolerance between elites, who are expected to forego most of their opportunities for manipulating a mass public not heavily committed to democracy. By turning its base of electoral support into an instrument for bludgeoning the opposition into submission, the Likud has crossed the line between legitimate political combat and reckless attacks that can only strike at the fragile foundations of our democratic edifice.

For those who believe that Israel has no future unless it is fully democratic, and who are outraged and sickened by the signs of deterioration in our political system, there is some hope. The judiciary, the press and the nebulous entity called "enlightened public opinion" are much more vigilant about protecting democratic freedoms than they were 30 years ago. Their performance in recent years, and especially since the Beirut massacre, indicates that they have come into their own as foundations of Israeli democracy.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Begin coalition rides the storm

By YOSEF GOELL

MANY of our political seismologists expected a major cataclysm to follow the publication of the Kahan Report. In the event, the commission's recommendations were admittedly of unprecedented severity, but the political rumblings have had little seismic effect. Former defence minister Ariel Sharon has left the ministry, but is being gradually insinuated back into the defence inner circles through the back door. Menachem Begin's government, however, is as solid as can be expected on the basis of its slim Knesset majority.

There is now every reason to believe that barring events which may lead to Begin's personal departure from the political scene, his coalition government will remain in office until the elections slated for the fall of 1985.

ANY ATTEMPT at an objective reading of the political situation following the Kahan Report should resist the temptation of being misled by the fulminations — including my own — against the enormity of keeping Sharon in the cabinet and of giving him any say in matters of defence in general and in negotiations over Lebanon in particular.

Menachem Begin may have been responsible for crystallizing the near-unanimous cabinet vote to take the defence portfolio out of Sharon's hands. But there should be no mistake: Menachem Begin is not in the business of repudiating Ariel Sharon, or of his handling of the war in Lebanon.

Sharon may well have misled the cabinet, the nation and the world over his intentions in Lebanon. He did not mislead Begin. From a purely formal point of view, Sharon coordinated nearly all his steps in Lebanon, including the extent of cooperation with the Phalange (although not their immediate use in Sabra and Shatila), with Begin. He was excruciatingly careful to touch bases with the prime minister on all major aspects of the campaign.

But beyond this question of formal political punctilio, Sharon's "grand plan" in Lebanon was fully in keeping with the Begin rationale.

BEGIN'S REPUDIATING Sharon would be tantamount to repudiating himself.

There is another reason why it would be unreasonably out of character to expect Begin to repudiate Sharon as totally as his opponents have been demanding: Begin never uses the power he has to fire anyone for mere incompetence or for bad judgement, even if it proves to be profoundly embarrassing to Israel and to himself as prime minister.

The only exceptions to this behavioural pattern are cases in which the offender is clearly seen to be challenging Begin's own supreme leadership, either in the party or in the government. Sharon has been at great pains in his five-and-a-half years in the Begin governments to convince the prime minister that while he will most surely join in the free-for-all competition for the succession once Begin retires, he will do nothing to undermine Begin's leadership.

Begin has a deep personal sense of loyalty to those who accept his leadership; and a very finely developed ability to read the political map.

Recall the following examples: It is arguable — and I would definitely so argue — that Simcha Ehrlich during his two-and-a-half years as minister of finance, matched Sharon in the catastrophic effects of his ministerial stewardship on Israel.

Yet it took a Herculean combination of pressures on the part of frantic Herut politicians to get Begin to kick Ehrlich upstairs out of the Treasury and into the deputy premiership.

A year later, when it seemed clear that the economically correct but electorally suicidal policies of his successor, Yigael Hurvitz, could well lead to a Likud election defeat, Begin continued to resist pressures for his replacement. It took the tactical intransigence of Hurvitz over the financial aspects of the Etzion Report on teachers' salaries (aspects which have not yet been implemented by his more nimble successor Yoram Aridor) to bring about his forced resignation.

Begin knew — and was grateful for the fact that — it was the legitimization by the Liberal Party, latterly under the leadership of Ehrlich, that finally made it possible for him to become prime minister in 1977.

Keeping the Liberals happy with their baubles in the cabinet is still a paramount factor in maintaining the Likud coalition in power.

SHARON'S BULLDOZER performance in pushing settlement in the territories and his projection of that achievement in the 1981 election campaign was an important element in Begin's hairsbreadth victory in those elections. A disgruntled Sharon, together with his Tehiya supporters and only one or two die-hard loyalists in Herut, could still bring down the present government. And Begin knows that Sharon is not beyond such vengeance if pushed too far.

It has also become clear that a large part of the electorate which voted Likud (and against Labour) in the last elections (in spite of the Likud government's bad performance in office) continues to support it, and to resent the treatment meted out to Sharon and the army generals in the wake of the Kahan Report. The other part of the electorate which took the report very much to heart is concentrated nearly entirely in that section of the public which in any case voted and will vote against the Likud.

The politically omniscient exception to that assessment may be found among some elements in the National Religious Party, the third largest group in the coalition.

In an Israel that continues to be politically polarized, Begin has clearly opted to continue to base his leadership on that large part of the population that has gravitated to the pole he personifies rather than try to become a leader of a broader consensus.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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FOR A SUPPOSEDLY simple man, Rafael Eitan is complicated indeed. The "soldier's soldier," as he was called by Prime Minister Menachem Begin when he was appointed in April 1978, will also be remembered as a politician. The man of few words will enter the archives with perhaps more written about him than about any of his predecessors, other than Moshe Dayan. The anti-intellectual and boor, as he was and is regarded in "polite" circles, has done more for the education of the disadvantaged in Israel than many an education minister. Rafi, whose credibility has led men into battle without fear, has been called, and proven a liar. A soldier's soldier, apart from Dayan Israel's longest-serving chief of staff, forced to leave the army under a cloud of shame, but leaving it without shame.

Despite everything, Rafi is loved by the rank and file of the army. At the height of the dissension during the Lebanese war, he was received with genuine warmth by the men of the famous battalion "that was never called up" but was in fact called up twice. If former defence minister Ariel Sharon can be believed, the battalion was on the verge of Israel's first mutiny. Eitan arrived and talked to the men from atop the truck guard of a tank. He was direct, he was genuine and he radiated Jewish strength and pride. He spoke of democracy and national duty and the right of political dissent, but outside the army.

To a man — and many of them were still hoarse from an anti-war demonstration at Tel Aviv's Kikar Machei Yisrael a few days earlier — the battalion prepared to take West Beirut.

HOW DOES one judge a chief of staff's performance? Does one in fact have the right to, given that the effect of many crucial decisions taken now will not be felt for years? Eitan was burdened with some of the most unusual tasks ever faced by a chief of staff. He had to oversee the withdrawal from the Sinai and the rebuilding of the Negev infrastructure; he had to help steer the military-diplomatic relations developing with the Phalangists; he had to work with three ministers of defence, Begin, Ezer Weizman and Sharon, and in the case of Begin, assume many of the minister's duties as well.

It was during his tenure that Israel consolidated the quasi-independent state of Haddadland, though the process was started by those before him, and it was while he was chief of staff that Israel actively engaged the Syrians in Lebanon for the first time when, in April 1981 Israeli jets shot down Syrian helicopters at Zahle — an act that led directly to the continuing war in Lebanon.

Under Weizman, Eitan was the chief of staff whose orders of the day concentrated on the importance of peace. Under Begin, the Iraqi reactor was bombed. Under Sharon, Rafi commanded the destruction of Yonit, and Israel's war in Lebanon.

RAFI'S FIRST actions as chief of staff led to sniggers and smirks both in the army and among the civilian population. Soldiers were ordered to wear berets and hats at all times in public. Women soldiers were told to cut their hair and remove their lipstick. Within 24 hours during January 1979, 509 soldiers were arrested and charged with being improperly dressed. Rafi himself made the headlines

The riddle of Rafi

The commission of inquiry into the Beirut camp massacres found that Chief of Staff Rafi Eitan had been derelict in his duty. However, it did not recommend any penalty as Eitan is due to end his term of service soon. Post Defence Correspondent HIRSH GOODMAN writes here of Eitan the man, the soldier and the "politician."



Eitan and Sharon: personal friction and agreement on basic strategy.

when he spotted a recruit without a hat near Tel Hashomer Hospital, yelled at the soldier to put it on, and chased him when he made a dash for it. The sniggers intensified when Rafi was pictured walking around shooting ranges picking up empty shell-casings. But when he sacked the commander of Israel's elite frogman unit for a training accident at Sharm e-Sheikh, although the commander himself was in Haifa on the night of the accident, the army began to take its new C.O.S. seriously. That year, training accidents dropped by 40 per cent.

Suddenly, generals' offices became more austere. Curbs and restrictions were clamped on perks and benefits. A private beach set aside for colonels and above was handed over to the public, and IDF entertainment units were disbanded. Air Force extravaganzas became a thing of the past, and commanders were ordered to account for pennies.

At the same time, personal equipment was improved. Soldiers were warmer in winter, and better provisioned for doing their job. Thought was given to the fighting man, his training and his motivation. The basic lesson hammered home was discipline, but not at the expense of ingenuity. The goal was an efficient army, which would be perceived not only as being careful with limited public funds, but as an example to a country Rafi believed was growing too fat and self-complacent.

THERE WERE, however, many contradictions in Rafi's behaviour. He demanded discipline yet commuted the sentences of two soldiers convicted of murder — Daniel Pinto, found guilty of murder during

grew more critical than ever as the war in Lebanon progressed, and as his statements about the necessity for retaining Judea, Samaria and Gaza, coupled with his overt support for those who settle the land, became more frequent.

Despite the criticism, Rafi maintained a good, even cordial, working relationship with the press he so disdained before becoming chief of staff. He seemed to enjoy sparring with military correspondents.

"I'm sorry I'm late for this meeting," he apologized one day last month. "But while I was flying here I noticed some mushrooms and landed to pick some for all of you. By the way, they're the poisonous kind."

But he needed the press to put his opinions across to the public and therefore was open to interviews (interestingly, only with the Hebrew press. He didn't care much what they thought outside).

Sharon inherited Rafi at a time when the latter enjoyed Begin's, and the army's unconditional support. The minister tried to circumvent Rafi and the general staff by creating an independent general staff within the Defence Ministry — Avraham Tami's office for national assessment. Sharon's demand for defence centralization under the minister's direct control was suspected by Eitan as being politically motivated.

There was a natural tension between the two men born out of their vastly different personal styles and values. Sharon likes big farms, big cars, good hotels, excellent food and expensive company. Rafi shuns all of that. Sharon is accused, correctly, of not visiting the wounded and comforting the bereaved. Rafi treats the army as an extended family, always making it a point in the field to know junior officers. Rafi's door is open to the most humble of servicemen; his concern over small personal problems is as genuine as his concern over big ones.

But Rafi and Sharon cooperated on the big picture. Eitan's army implemented Sharon's strong-arm policy in the administered territories, with Eitan personally giving the instructions for banishment, mass arrests, and detention of relatives of those suspected of Palestinian nationalism — not only terror. Eitan's army executed move after move in the unfolding reality of Lebanon, balking only at entry into West Beirut, and this mainly due to the doubts being openly expressed by senior cabinet and defence officials. Eitan sided with Sharon in ignoring most of the advice given by intelligence chief Yehoshua Saguy, and on countless occasions gave Sharon's demands IDF blessing by supporting him in the Knesset and the cabinet.

SHARON suited Rafi, and Rafi suited Sharon. The relationship was almost symbiotic. Their intense mutual dislike was set aside for what they both believe are the most important goals of maximum security, maximum independence and maximum territory, and their minimal

respect for factors other than those military.

Both men knew that fate had thrown them together at what they considered was an historic time in Israel's development. Rafi's appointment as chief of staff took many by surprise. Ever since he reached the position of company commander, the pundits had been saying that the "one-dimensional soldier" would go no further. Sharon's becoming defence minister was just as unexpected. Both men made it despite the odds against them, and both men saw their selection as a mandate to implement their ideas.

Sharon and Rafi often differed on day-to-day matters such as the defence budget, but agreed on strategy. They share a deep distrust of outsiders — the U.S., UNIFIL, the UN — and a lack of respect for diplomats. They are both inwardly quite pleased when the foreign media refer to Israel as Sparta. Nor are they unhappy that the world has come to realize that, in matters of defence Israel carries out its declared intentions, however improbable they may sound.

BUT THERE the similarity between the two men ends. Rafi accepted the findings of the Kahan Commission with grace, asking only that those senior officers implicated by the report be allowed to speak before the cabinet. His order of the day, published soon after the government decided to implement the commission's findings (at least with regard to the military establishment) was profoundly different from Ariel Sharon's public statements. The army would not only accept the government's decision, but will learn the lessons of the commission's findings, he said. "The IDF will prove that it has the ability to withstand criticism and draw painful conclusions."

Rafi published the special order of the day on his own initiative. He did so because he knew that only an authoritative statement from him personally could avert dissension within the ranks. And only a unified IDF could face the enemy he believes to be waiting for the opportunity to strike.

Sharon's farewell was a warning that his dismissal had left Israel's deterrent capability flawed, the country weaker.

Rafi and Sharon may meet again, probably as political allies on the right of the political fence. Rafi in politics? you ask. There's a good chance. Over the past five years he apparently has grown to enjoy the prestige of his position. His popularity among the people, though not among the intellectuals, has not left him untouched. He believes that he is young enough and vibrant enough to continue influencing the nation's progress along paths that he considers important. He told an audience in Jerusalem last week that he believes Israel is "on the brink." Given the increasingly violent public debate, the country's very survival is in the balance.

Somehow, the thought of Rafi complacently retiring to his carpentry shop at Tel Adashim come mid-April while the country hovers on the brink is not consistent with his character. And no matter what one may say about Rafi, he is consistent. He will continue to fight for the Jews, and continue to fight the Arabs. He may choose to do this politically or through public service. It is almost certain, however, that he won't be retiring in order to write books, either about his own deeds or about those of others.

SEVERAL YEARS ago, the Centre for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv became aware of the fact that, while almost everyone in Israel claimed that Judea and Samaria are strategically vital to this country's security, no one had done any research on the subject. In 1981, ARYEH SHALEV, who undertook this research, published a report in English, *Autonomy: Problems and Possible Solutions*. He then expanded his work and presented it in the form of a Hebrew book, *The West Bank: Line of Defence*, which is soon to be published in English.

In the following article, Shalev draws attention to some of the more important facts that have come to his attention. Although it deals with a military subject, it inevitably has a political base; the author points out that even Egypt agrees that, at least during the period of autonomy, the IDF will maintain forces in Judea and Samaria in order to defend that area against possible attack from the east.

I STARTED with an optimistic political assumption: that Israel would begin negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinians to discuss a political solution for Judea and Samaria. I also assumed that these negotiations would come to a positive conclusion, which may result in one of the following:

Either Palestinian rule will be established in Judea and Samaria (which will have been demilitarized, after some changes have been made in the Green Line (the borders until June 1967): in accordance with Israel's security needs; or, possibly, there will be Jordanian rule in a demilitarized Judea and Samaria (with borders differing from those of the Green Line); or, there will be autonomy without a time limit, but with partial peace and limited withdrawal of the IDF.

My assumption is that, once one of these possibilities has been accepted as a political solution, a long transition period, lasting several decades, will begin. During this period the difficult and complex sections of the peace treaty will have to be implemented.

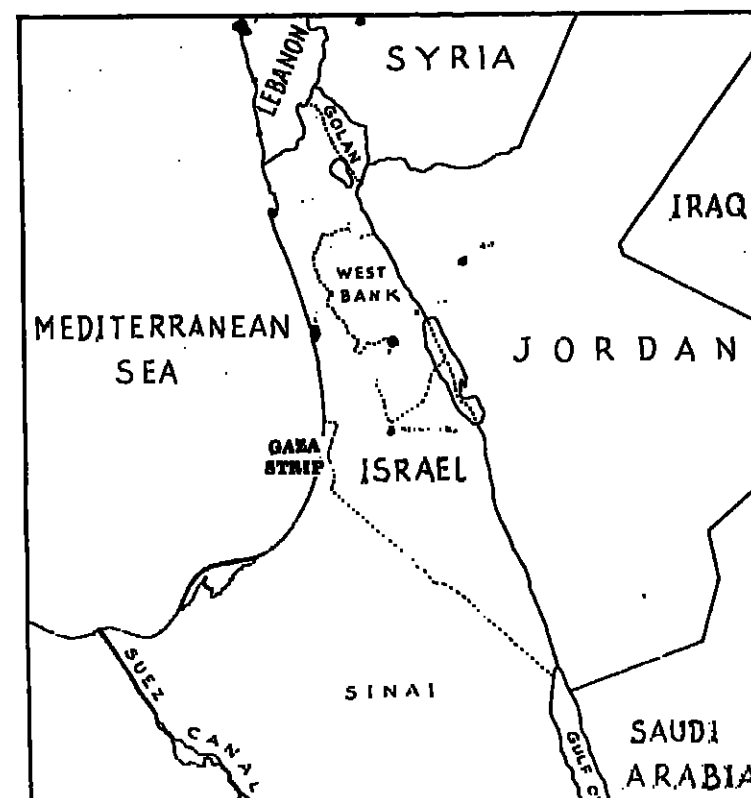
One of the major problems will be settling the Palestinian refugees. There are about a million of them, and in my opinion it is essential that the peace treaty include a solution to this problem, based on settling most of the refugees in Arab states. This, of course, would require the agreement of Arab countries such as Iraq, Kuwait, etc. Will this agreement be forthcoming? And if so, when? This issue is crucial because if the Palestinian refugees are not settled, they will continue to insist upon their right to return.

It will also require considerable time to determine just what direction the political entity that is formed east of Israel will take; will it develop an interest in cooperation with Israel, and be content with a small Palestine, or will it continue to be hostile to Israel and make preparations for a struggle to push Israel towards the partition borders or even further west?

During this long interim period there will still not be peace with security, and it is possible that there may even be an Arab decision to use force against Israel.

TWO PRINCIPAL factors exert an influence here. The first is: geo-strategic and concerns the balance of military power. The countries east of Israel (Jordan, Syria and Iraq) have large armies and powerful, high-quality weapons systems which they could use to disrupt the IDF's call-up of reservists. This could be

West Bank scenarios



accomplished by firing ground to ground rockets and artillery. They also might be able to take advantage of the topography to launch a quick, mobile strike, aimed at vital centres. Jordan's army has become mobile and capable of mounting an offensive. Its air force is larger and far more sophisticated than it was in 1967. It also now has air defences such as ground-to-air missile launchers, which it did not have during the Six Day War.

Israel must anticipate that the Jordanian armed forces will continue to grow and to improve their weapons systems. The Jordanian threat one must also add that of Iraq, a large part of which would operate through Jordan, and a smaller part through Southern Syria. Almost all of the land forces of Jordan and Iraq are regulars, while most of Israel's land forces are reservists. It would take Israel 48 hours to mobilize them, equip them and move them to the front. Here the important factor is the numerical balance between regular armies.

This gives the Arabs a decided advantage over Israel during the period when the reservists are being called up. Should there be a surprise attack by the Jordanians and the Syrians, with an additional force from Iraq, while there is uncertainty as to what Egypt might do, then the IDF would be able to send only two divisions against four or five Jordanian divisions plus another seven or eight Syrian divisions. In this case, the Arab forces would have at least a six to one advantage over Israel during the first 48 hours of fighting.

In addition, there is the geographic and topographic factor to be considered. This factor is unchanging. Judea and Samaria are hilly regions, 50 kilometres wide, but as much as 1,000 metres high. The vital areas that are dominated from these vantage points contain 67 per cent of Israel's population and 80 per cent of its industry. The vital area is narrow (14 to 30 kilometres) and flat. As weapons systems become more sophisticated, the defence of this

strip is rendered increasingly difficult.

THESE TWO geo-strategic factors present Israel with definite security threats from the direction of the West Bank during the transitional period. A tactical success by the armies of the Eastern Front might mean splitting the country in two, or the loss of important areas, such as Jerusalem. The principal dangers Israel faces are artillery fire, terrorist acts and sabotage (even though the last two are not directly related to the balance of forces), lack of sufficient warning and ground and air attack.

Of course, we are dealing here with the future, covering a period of several years, and it is therefore impossible to predict all the developments.

First, one must consider the artillery threat. If the artillery of any Arab power is positioned on the West Bank, then all of the vital parts of Israel, within 20 km. of the Green Line, will be within its range. Therefore, Israel must oppose the positioning of any Arab artillery in Judea and Samaria.

It has been claimed that Israeli intelligence, which is considered to be good, will be able to predict any Arab attack and will be able to provide ample warning, thus enabling the IDF to mobilize its reservists in time and to wage war in Judea and Samaria. Although it is by no means certain that in every case there will be a warning of impending war, the electronic data-gathering devices in the high places of Judea and Samaria do increase the chances of being warned in 12 hours or less in the event of an advance by the Jordanian army on the Eastern Front. Therefore, the placement of Israeli warning devices in the West Bank is vital.

Third, one must realize that the less the political settlement satisfies the Palestinians and the Arab countries, the greater will be their incentive to wage war against Israel. The relative weight of opposing considerations will decrease as the political settlement becomes more realistic.

With regard to the security importance of Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria, my conclusion is that, given the special conditions prevailing in the territories, and the limited regular army of the IDF, these settlements do have a place in

the potential losses will not be high enough to deter them. The likelihood of war will be greater if the arrangement is autonomy, partial peace, or a Palestinian state under extreme rule, and less if there is Jordanian or moderate Palestinian rule on the West Bank.

JORDAN, with the help of Iraq, will be able to attack (simultaneously with Syria on the Golan Heights) through the West Bank, and place Israel in serious danger even if the West Bank is demilitarized and there are no Arab forces in it. And even if there is no Jordanian military force there, an attack through the West Bank, which is 50 km. wide, will be possible. If the West Bank is demilitarized, which would prevent an advance deployment of forces, Israel's land forces would not be able to begin battle there at the time of a Jordanian-Iraqi attack, and the IDF would be forced to send regular troops in only after the attack had begun.

But we must anticipate that the main arteries would be captured at the beginning of the fighting and that movement on them would be blocked by special Jordanian forces, commando units and others. Therefore, in the event of a surprise Jordanian-Syrian attack, Jordanian land forces (reinforced by Iraqi forces) would have some successes in the initial stage of the fighting, until the IDF mobilized its reserves and sent them into battle. These successes might include Arab conquest of a large part of the West Bank during the first night.

The next danger, which is very real, is of attack from the air. Attack planes, flying low, can cross the West Bank in three minutes. Even if planes are on high alert in Israel's airports, it will take three minutes for the first pair to take off and these won't have time to intercept the attacking aircraft before they have dropped their bombs.

On the other hand, if Israel could locate the enemy planes at the time of their take-off from airfields in Jordan (and in Syria), this would give the air force four extra minutes, during which it would be possible to intercept attacking planes.

In order to enable air force radar stations to locate attack planes, flying at low altitudes, and to wage a defensive air battle before these planes can drop their bombs, these stations must be located in the high places in Judea and Samaria.

Jordan has 100 F5E fighter planes (each one able to carry two tons of bombs), and the Jordanian Air Force is getting 36 F-1 Mirages from France (each of which can carry three-and-a-half tons of bombs). To this must be added a large part of the 140 high-quality Russian fighter planes that Iraq has.

The faster the fighter planes, and the better their weaponry, the greater the danger. It becomes even greater in the absence of geographic depth for air defence. In order to overcome this, Israel needs, in addition to a number of radar stations in the West Bank, an advance air-defence line there that will include ground to air missile batteries, Israeli interceptors must also be allowed to patrol the West Bank.

WHAT, THEN, ARE the possible solutions and security measures in light of these dangers?

With regard to the security importance of Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria, my conclusion is that, given the special conditions prevailing in the territories, and the limited regular army of the IDF, these settlements do have a place in

the defence plan. Residents of the Jordan Rift Valley could be integrated into a forward defence system, even in the event of sudden attack from Jordan, and by reinforcing the regular army even before the reservists have been mobilized. Because of the small size of the settlements, their contribution will, at first, be limited, but as the settlements grow they may become a security asset.

The settlements on the mountain plateau, and on its slopes, which are near traffic arteries and overlook them, have a certain military significance in the stage preceding an Arab attack. They should be able to keep the arteries open to traffic, so that the IDF can move forces eastwards to Judea and Samaria.

I WOULD like, here, to consider four major solutions that have been suggested: The solution proposed by the Palestinians; solutions based on Jordanian military guarantees and limitations; demilitarization of the West Bank; solutions based on Israeli military presence in the West Bank.

After in-depth analysis of each of these categories, I have come to the following main conclusions. The Palestinian proposals are generally aimed at meeting the nationalist aspirations of the Palestinians, and not the security needs of Israel. They are geared to prevent an IDF presence in the West Bank and to deploy as large a Palestinian military force there as possible. These proposals present no lessening of the security dangers to Israel, but actually increase them. Therefore, they cannot be considered as a possible solution.

Israel cannot base its existence and security on external guarantees, and must defend itself against all future dangers from Arab countries. Israel must have the necessary areas for this, and must avoid exchanging the means of security for guarantees. Nevertheless, it is possible to accept guarantees — not instead of Israeli security measures, but in addition to them.

The demilitarization of Judea and Samaria entails a great risk for Israel. Significant changes of the borders will be necessary. A large part of the IDF reserves will have to be permanently called up, and we will need a state of constant readiness which will enable us to take over the mountain plateau before Jordanian forces reach it.

It will also be necessary to adopt a strategy of pre-emptive attack because of the lack of minimum depth necessary for defence. But it will still be difficult for Israel to deal with the security danger because changing political circumstances may not allow it to bring military forces into Judea and Samaria before the Jordanian army gets there. Demilitarization of Judea and Samaria is not, therefore, a reasonable answer to the potential security threats to Israel.

The Allon Plan, which was presented to the Israeli government on June 16, 1967, could meet the potential security needs of this country, during the transition period; but certain changes in the plan are necessary, such as the right to deploy warning units, as well as air force radar stations and ground to air missile batteries, in the mountains. But for political reasons the plan does not seem to be a possible basis for negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinians, who will never agree to Israel's annexation of the Jordan Rift Valley and the Judean Desert.

With regard to the security importance of Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria, my conclusion is that, given the special conditions prevailing in the territories, and the limited regular army of the IDF, these settlements do have a place in

Arens' choice as deputy

NOW THAT the Moshe Arens nomination has Knesset approval, talk has begun on a possible deputy defence minister. Arens' candidate is said to be fellow Herut MK and aeronautical engineer, Prof. Yosef Rom of Haifa. Meeting a party group in Haifa last week, Rom expressed his willingness to take the job.

ONE OF ISRAEL'S best friends in the Senate, Henry Jackson, regards Ariel Sharon as a liability for Israel. Jackson's view is certainly not shared by Harold Jacobs, president of the Young Israel organization, who has invited Sharon to be keynote speaker at the Orthodox group's 71st convention on March 20. Said Jacobs: "We will give Sharon a royal welcome, as befits one of the greatest Israeli heroes and the architect of the brilliant victory in Lebanon."

HAIFA HAS TAKEN the lead in the long-overdue drive for political tolerance, getting its leading citizens to sign an anti-violence compact. The move came at the initiative of Haifa District Court Judge Mecha Lindner, in his role as chairman of the Movement for a Better Israel. The signatories, from both sides of the political fence, include Mayor Arye Gurel, Knesset Labour faction chairman Moshe Shohat, Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidor, head of the Herut branch in the port city, and Herut MK Prof. Yosef Rom, as well as the city's two chief rabbis, Shmuel Yeshayahu Cohen and Eliahu Bakshi Doron.

BUSY MAN. You'd think that Philip Gillon has his hands full editing *The Post's* sports pages and watching Israel TV. But our Figgy is also a whiz at puzzles. He lately reached the summit of this venerable English institution by winning *The Times* crossword contest.

KIPPOT and kimono's abounded when David Goldfeld, general manager of Jerusalem's King Solomon Sheraton, inaugurated the first glatt kosher Japanese restaurant in the world, Tepensaki, with a benefit evening for the Cystic-Fibrosis Association. The evening raised \$5,000 for the charity. Speakers at the event were

PUBLIC FACES
Mark Segal



Yosef Rom

association chairman Dr. Nathan Durrant and Hadassah's Prof. Shimon Goffrey. The delicacies were prepared by chef Shigeru Akashi, who recently arrived from Tokyo.

PRESIDENT Yitzhak Navon took advantage of Wednesday's break in the wintry weather to continue a presidential tradition, planting a cedar tree on the grounds of the Arza convalescent home in Motza. The row of presidential trees adjoins the stump of the cedar planted by Theodor Herzl in 1898, and cut down in 1915. Among the other planters were David Wolfson, Herzl's successor as head of the World Zionist Organization; Menahem Ussishkin of the Jewish National Fund; Israel's second president, Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, who revived the tradition; and presidents Zalman Shazar and Prof. Ephraim Katzir.

NEW PRESIDENTIAL candidates may start to surface now that Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor has set the election date for Israel's sixth head of state. With the voting less than a month away, Chaim Herzog seems to have solidified his place as Labour's chief contender for the post. Shlomo Hillel has dropped out of the race, and Beersheba Mayor Eliahu Nawi is not yet in it.

The opposition has not yet made a final decision, with Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres reportedly waiting until Premier Begin has made his choice known. I've been

told that if the NRP's Dr. Yosef Burg is the coalition candidate, Herzog has a good chance of getting support from such pivotal factions as Agudat Yisrael, Tami, Telem and the part of the NRP that wants to keep Burg active in politics.

So far, the only Likud name floating around is that of Shlomo Toussia-Cohen, the son of a well-known Sephardi family and defence lawyer *extraordinaire*. Among Toussia-Cohen's list of former clients is Tami leader — and ex-religious affairs minister — Aharon Abuhatzela.

FOR THE FINNS forests are "green gold." To keep up that tradition, Finland's friends in Israel and its embassy staff here have several years ago started the Tapiola Forest in the JNF's big forest near Ben-Shimon.

A week ago the Tapiola forest grew again by several dozen trees planted as a farewell present by the embassy staff for the outgoing First Secretary Pekka Ojanen and his charming wife Ritta, who were assigned to Geneva. Several trees were also planted in memory of the late ambassador Passo Heininen, who died in Tel Aviv last April. A special tree was planted to honour Shula Kimeche, the long-time Israeli secretary of the Finnish embassy who has been awarded a special Finnish order of distinction in recognition of her 20 years of devoted service with the embassy.

WEST GERMAN Ambassador Nels Hansen has become an honorary member of the Society for Encouraging the Cultural and Social Activities of former Yemenites; he is now expert at playing Yemenite melodies on his flute and performing Yemenite dances.

AT LONG LAST, they've located the source of a leak. It's in the office of Army Spokesman Tat-Aluf Ya'acov Even, and it comes from the roof of the decades-old building in the Tel Aviv Kirya from which the IDF's information efforts emanate. Military correspondents this week had to make their way between buckets and bowls to get to Even's office. I've been told that the roof has needed fixing for some time, but that there's a dispute between the IDF and the civilian bureaucracy that shares the building.

POSTSCRIPTS

ONLY one out of every three Jewish children in America will be brought up by just one natural parent; one out of two U.S. Jews who marry in the 1980's will be divorced by 1990; one out of every two U.S. Jewish college students who marry in the 1980's will marry out of the faith; one out of every three couples will have only one child; two out of every five Jewish children will get no Jewish education and have no bar or bat mitzva.

These statistics on American Jews and their future were published recently in an American Jewish weekly by Dr. Alvin Schiff, head of the Board of Jewish Education in New York. He further predicts that two out of every 10 teenage Jews will be alcoholics by age 30. And according to the Young Israel organization, the odds against a Jewish college student marrying another Jew, even in a large Jewish community, are 2-1. J.S.T.

Hereditary burdens

Ephraim Kishon

IT SO HAPPENS that unlike quite a few people I know, I am very fond of calf's-foot jelly. Let me add that I'm talking of calf's-foot jelly when it's jelly, and not some disgusting grey puddle because my daughter has left the fridge door open again and now we have to get rid of the whole stinking mess inside, you talk to her, Ephraim, she's your daughter too.

Ephraim approaches his daughter and tells her for the third time in as many days:

"How many times must I tell you to shut the bloody fridge?"

To which Renana answers:

"Big deal."

She's a native, is my 14-year-old daughter, a sabra, prickly on the outside and full of pips within, to be handled with kid gloves. A true Levantine she is, all languid and laissez someone else faire, while she herself expects to be served hand and calf's-foot jelly.

On Monday night she left the fridge door open again, and I talked to her, but instead of the usual big deal, I got:

"What do you want from me? I've got your genes, haven't I?"

I should have seen it coming the moment I'd caught her reading something entitled *Your Body, Your Health*. Last week, Renana had asked me out of the blue how much liquid I thought my body contained. A cup and a half, I told her from memory. "Ha," she said triumphantly, "two-thirds of your body is liquid!" I told her sure, whatever she said, I wasn't going to let a few cups more or less spoil our happy relationship. Later that week, wouldn't you know it, our daughter was already demanding more calcium in her diet, and next she informed us she now knew exactly how not to have babies.

AND NOW the genes. My daughter, in other words, wished to convey the message that she wasn't responsible for her actions since I, her father, had personally shaped her lousy character with my lousy seeds.

"I am your handiwork," was how she not quite accurately put it, "so you've no one to blame but your genes."

"You mean to tell me, Miss Know-it-all, that I have genes for leaving fridge doors open?"

"Absolutely," said Miss Know-it-all, "though I guess you must have inherited them from someone in turn."

It figures. One of my ancestors left the fridge door open in Sinai around 1500 BCE, and since then his genes for producing calf's-foot puddles have been passed on down the generations. Delightful thought. By that reasoning, we are none of us responsible for anything. If you have Mrs. Lot's genes you'll go through life with your head screwed on backwards; if you're descended from Solomon you'll keep wanting to get married and cleave infants in half; while if one of your forefathers hunted butterflies, you'll have this incomprehensible urge to become a helicopter pilot. It's all written in the chromosomes that are in the genes that are in the seeds that are in Renana's screwy book.

"You're crazy," I summed the whole thing up to my daughter.

"Yeah?" she said. "Do I take that as a piece of self-criticism on your part?"

ON SATURDAY we had another genetic clash. Making out our restaurant bill, the waiter asked Renana what she had drunk during lunch.

"A glass of water," Renana told him with her most winsome smile. "Not much!" I protested loudly. "You finished off two bottles of coke."

"Daddy!" she snarled at me out of the corner of her mouth. "Whose side are you on?"

"You ought to be ashamed of yourself," I told her as we were leaving, "you little cheat."

So of course she went scientific on me again, quoting the genetic code, chapter and verse. She talks a lot, does my darling daughter, especially on the phone. If I knew which of my genes was to blame for that I'd commit genocide.

The more as the gene jinn has got into her brother too. Just the other day he, Amir, gave me a disapproving look after he had driven the car into an imprudent lamppost. "For God's sake, Daddy," his eyes said, "couldn't you have handed me on a bit more driving skill?"

I hung my head and visualized a kind of genetic rogues' gallery. Maybe they're just absent-minded, these driving-into-lamppost genes of mine. Or maybe they squirt. Or are given to genetic drift, which is another term out of my daughter's book.

Renana herself gave the whole affair a new twist when she scored an unprecedented 10 on a grammar test, which her teacher declared was a miracle. Miracle my foot. She had copied the lot from the class linguistic genius, had my bright little girl, and to avoid suspicion had deliberately introduced one mistake — thereby inadvertently correcting the genius's only slip.

"Hoho," I crowed, "looks like Daddy's genes aren't so dumb after all, what?"

"Rubbish," Miss Know-it-all told me coolly, "those are Mummy's genes."

Women! Stick up for each other come gene come chromosome. And my wife is well pleased, and fondly attributes everything that's positive about our kids to her own DNA. I suggested we settle the matter once and for all, have a football match between an eleven of her genes and mine, so she told me to leave her alone with my infantile notions.

AND TODAY Renana came home in tears because the "Sphinx Shipping A 0.5" shares she had bought jointly with some of her girlfriends had suddenly lost 10 points. My wife looked pityingly at her heartbroken daughter and sighed: "Ah, if only the poor child had got Yossi Rieger's genes..."

I think I'll quit.

Translated by Miriam Arad.
By arrangement with "Ma'ariv."

11 dead, 260 injured in week's road toll

Eleven persons were killed and 260 others injured in 143 road accidents in Israel last week. The main reason, according to the police, was failure to give the right of way both to vehicles and pedestrians. Three accidents involved drunken drivers.

The police have recently stepped up alcohol tests on drivers involved in accidents. (Itim)

BOOKS

Good-deeds chronicle

I WISH that I could share this book with everyone who wants to know what Israel is really like, for it is an extraordinary document. It lists Israeli charitable organizations and their officers, and provides descriptions of their budgets and statements of their purposes.

For instance, there is a charitable organization called *Keren Hateshuvah*, which was founded by the rabbis of the Police Department and the prisons. What they do is adopt young delinquents as they come out of prison and work to rehabilitate them. Then there are societies that give free loans, or loan out wedding dresses to poor brides, and there are other societies that provide food for the poor before the holidays, or secret charity. There are more than six hundred and fifty-six pages of such societies. They are not intended to replace the United Jewish Appeal or any of the other major fund-raising agencies. But they are available for those people who want to focus on one cause so that they can get the satisfaction of knowing just where and how their money is helping.

ONE OF my favourite childhood memories is of the mail that used to come to our house during the month before Pesach and the month before Rosh Hashana. It would usually come in the form of envelopes with cellophane windows and with return addresses in Jerusalem or Brooklyn. These were requests for help from orphanages, old age homes, *yeshivot*, and other charities. We children used to tease our father as he made out cheques for them. We would ask him how he

knew they were all bona fide charities. He would answer that it was not for him to be their examiner. If a Jew holds out his hand for help, one must help him. Better to be fooled than to be careful and turn down someone worthy.

My father would have found this book unnecessary. But for those of us who want more reassurance, it will be a handy reference work. It will enable us to check out in a moment the authenticity of anyone who comes to us for help.

But I would urge you to get a copy of this book and keep it on your desk, as I do, for another reason. Whenever you hear Israel maligned, or whenever you feel depressed about the state of Jewish life, open this book and browse through it for a few minutes. See how many people there are in Israel who are doing *mitzvot*, quietly, personally, and voluntarily. See another side of Israel from the one we usually see in newspapers here. For, even though we live in an impersonal society in which fundraising and charity work have to be done in a sophisticated way, there are nevertheless still people who do good deeds retail and not wholesale, and who help not only by writing cheques but through their own personal involvement. □

Double portrait

IN THE course of our long acquaintance, which grew into an intimate friendship, I came to the conclusion that Irene, so utterly different from her husband, but possessed of other notable qualities, was determined, consciously or sub-consciously, not to become merely "the wife of Cecil Roth" but a personality in her own right. She would fulfil the lovely interpretation of *Genesis* 2.18 (translated literally, it runs "It is not good for man to be alone, I will make him a helpmeet against him") to the effect that the wife can often serve as a helpmeet by being "against" her husband, by complementing his qualities.

This volume fully bears out my view. It is as revealing of the author as it is of her distinguished husband, with whom it deals. At the same time, it presents a vivid picture of Cecil Roth in all his greatness, and with all his loving foibles — the universal historian and at the same time the passionate lover of every aspect of Jewish history, the possessor of a puckish sense of humour.

If I were to select one sentence which sums him up in this consciously rambling account it is, "Throughout his life he combined British manners and loyalties with an intense commitment to Jewish nationalism" (p.94).

On the other hand, however, there is one sentence which I cannot accept. On p.174 he writes "It is impossible for me to remember all the guests, representing so many lands and backgrounds, who visited us at Oxford during the postwar decades." I just do not believe it. This book is replete with "name flooding."

But what a collection! They include royalty and heads of states,

SERVICES IN ISRAEL by Eliezer Jaffe. Jerusalem, Keren Publishers. 656 pp. \$18.00. Distributor: The Jerusalem Post, 120 E. 56 St. (Suite 840), N.Y., N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.

Jack Riemer

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CECIL ROTH, Historian Without Tears. A memoir by Irene Roth. New York, Sepher Hermon Press. 256 pp. \$14.95

Louis I. Rabinowitz

clerical eminences and political leaders of world stature, non-Jews whose sometimes remote Jewish ancestry Cecil Roth was able to ferret out, humble admirers of Cecil who in their devotion to him became his faithful voluntary attendants and servants.

AS SHE herself states, the book deals only *en passant* with the outstanding contribution of Cecil Roth to history, and to what I regard as his magnum opus, *The Encyclopedia Judaica*, of which he was the editor-in-chief (I had the privilege of being one of his deputies). She feels herself incapable of evaluating it but it is nevertheless an important contribution towards helping us to understand — and love — Cecil Roth.

The book is replete with lovely stories and vignettes, of which I select only one, since it reveals not only Cecil, but Irene as well. She states that, at their wedding, which took place in the Western Synagogue in London in 1928: "During the proceedings my bridegroom hardly had eyes for me; his gaze was fixed on the embroidered *Huppah* stretched above our heads. He could not wait for it to be dismantled so that he could examine it more closely," and, in fact, it proved to be a *Huppah* with a history. *Amor omnia vincit*, but not his passion for the genuine antique or objet d'art! □

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Tamara Yovel

Three looks for next winter — (above), Tamara Yovel's folkloric outfit for Rikma (drawing: Icha Weiss). Maquette's leather turtin (below), and Mif's leather-trim coordinates (right).



Their day in the sun

Eilat was the hot spot for cool weather fashions when fashion firms, buyers and journalists from Israel and abroad got together for a four-day look at autumn/winter 1983/4 collections last week. The Jerusalem Post's Greer Fay Cashman reports from the scene.

OTHER than what's new in shape, line and colour, what most excites the curiosity of anyone who asks about Israel Fashion Week is the number of buyers and the volume of sales. Few outsiders realize that Fashion Week is more of a promotional effort than a market. Buyers are cautious about making definite commitments and are more inclined to take samples than to place signed orders. The success or otherwise of any given Israel Fashion Week is not known until weeks and sometimes months afterwards.

The Israeli fashion media tend to measure success by the head count of buyers, without making the distinction between quality and quantity. In the more sparkling pre-recession era, Fashion Weeks bubbled with as many as 700 foreign buyers and more than 90 Israeli exhibitors. This time, the former have dwindled to 170, and the latter to less than 50. It is unfortunate that Israel's fashion industry is not as representative as it could be, but there is certainly no reason to be mournful about attendance figures vis-à-vis buyers. True, most of the smaller retailers and boutique stores have fallen by the wayside. But the chain and department store buyers and the catalogue representatives have continued to maintain close trade ties, and they are the people whose decisions have the greatest effect on export revenues from fashion and textiles.

Until 1980, Israel's fashion exports increased annually by leaps and bounds. Then came the world economic crisis heightened by mass unemployment and European currency devaluations, and Israel's exports began to slide — albeit nowhere near the same percentage ratios in which they had grown in the years of plenty. The total decrease between 1980 and 1982 was just a little under 25 per cent in dollar terms. It should be remembered that the majority of sales were made in European currencies, the value of which diminished in relation to the U.S. dollar.

Consternation as to the future direction of the industry was expressed at two extremes at both government and manufacturers' level. One school of opinion held that Fashion Week was too heavy a financial burden to carry. The other school of thought refused to consider cancellation of such a prestige event, and furthermore opted to increase the promotion budget to restore lustre to the occasion and to induce more enthusiasm by moving location from Tel Aviv to Eilat. Drive won out over doldrums, although many voices were raised against both the venue and the accompanying glitter. It was a calculated risk in more ways than one. The Lagoon Hotel, which had no previous experience of events of such magnitude, was selected as the centre for showrooms and accommodation. General Manager Rudolfo Kohn and his staff did everything to prove themselves equal to the challenge and on the whole succeeded very well; service and catering were excellent. The goodwill of the hotel staff and the delightful climate of Eilat



were insufficient to get Fashion Week off to a good start. Exaggerated media coverage during the previous week of potential earthquakes threatened to mar festivities. Moreover, inclement weather in other parts of the country interfered with flight schedules, causing some arrivals to be delayed by as much as 12 hours. Thus Fashion Week, which had been given an extra period of grace, started off on a sour note. But the relaxed atmosphere and the lavish nightly entertainment dispelled the gloom.

The general consensus at the end of the week is that the Eilat experiment was worth the effort. "I can't remember a Fashion Week when we had it so good," said Maquette's Malka Ador — due in part to the fact that Maquette had never had so good a collection. Fruitful negotiations were conducted in all leather showrooms. Buyers were queuing up to see Guy Fulop's superbly designed and crafted tops and dresses with hi-tone bandit collars giving new mobility to classic styling. Tadmor's tramp collection excited buyers from Germany. The door to Gingette's showroom was closed for longer periods than it was open, signifying business in progress.

An unexpected visitor to Eilat was Riki Ben Ari, one of Israel's top designers, who now spends most of her time in Paris. Ben Ari did an unusual line of active wear for Farfour in a new colour process fabric which looks like tie-die but isn't. According to some sources, active wear is becoming passé in Europe, but apparently the message has not reached Israel which proliferates with active wear collections. Most manufacturers of this line reported satisfactory sales, and first-time exhibitors Tal Knitwear were elated; they had come to Eilat without any expectations and returned to Tel Aviv with handsome orders.

Similar good fortune smiled on Honigman, another Fashion Week newcomer, showing sophisticated sportswear. The striking range of coordinates at Niba sold itself. "I didn't have to do anything," said export manager Oscar Efrony. "Buyers came in, looked, quoted a

price... and I only had to decide whether to agree."

Buyers bustled around the knitwear, where reaction was almost as favourable as it was with the leather. "For me" said Gabi Feinstein of Gabi Model, "this was the best Fashion Week since 1967. I'm prepared to settle for Eilat any time and every buyer I spoke to said the same."

Other buyers were not too keen on Eilat. There were too many distractions, not enough collections and too much distance between showrooms and factories for on-the-spot changes geared to customer specification.

It was certainly the most unusual and memorable of Fashion Weeks, with many participants combining family vacations with business. Never before were there so many young children present. Evenings were filled with nightclubbing, disco dancing, a barbecue and kumiz at Rafi Nelson's village and a Brazilian festa at the Sonesta Hotel which was the alternate Fashion Week headquarters as well as the southern hub for the crew of the current movie newsmaker, *Sahara*. During Fashion Week, Sir John Mills, one of the stars of the film, celebrated his birthday, and half the fashion people gave-up the affair.

But with all the fun things going on, people still found time to be serious. French journalist Elzabeth Paille of *Depeche Mode* pronounced the leather wear superb, and commented that in other categories it would be advantageous for Israelis to think more in terms of line and shape than gimmicks. "They think gimmicks are ideas," she said, "but it's really the pure and simple which has the most appeal."

The impetus for buyer interest was a no-nonsense breakfast fashion show in which 17 companies showed that Israel knows how to get its act together. Although designs by Miki Shapira looked outstanding on the runway, they were limited to synthetic fabrics. Shapira is employed by Pro-Miss which specializes in its own synthetics and is keeping its distance from pure wools and cottons.

Tamara Yovel, the most lauded of fashion designers, had no such problems at Rikma, where no limitations were placed on her extravaganzas. Drama and volume play a significant role in Yovel's imaginative creations which, because of their intensive workmanship, are highly priced.

Eilat was a last-ditch effort to save the Fashion Week tradition — and it worked. At a meeting Wednesday evening between government and Israel Export Institute officials and manufacturers, satisfaction was expressed all round, and the decision was taken to make Eilat the locale for all winter Fashion Weeks in the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, Israel's summer Fashion Week is only six months away, and again there is debate as to whether or not it should be held in Tel Aviv. It is rumoured that the event may take place in Jerusalem which, since 1976, has hosted several of Israel's summer Fashion Weeks.

The World of Polgat



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Polgat Enterprises

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES

Pollak's the name for Polgat's multi-million-dollar fashion success story. Greer Fay Cashman meets chairman and managing director Israel Pollak.

IN APRIL, Polgat Enterprises will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of their parent company in Kiryat Gat. The milestone will be marked — in typical Polgat fashion — with the opening of two additional facilities in Beersheva and Yavne for the manufacture of Bagir trousers, the establishment of two more Bege-Or boutiques (one in Haifa and the other in Jerusalem), and the launching of an \$8 million jeans production plant.

When Polgat began operations in 1963, the original factory had 200 people on its payroll. Today, two decades later, more than 6,000 people earn their livelihood through Polgat's 19 Israeli-based production plants, 15 shops, and a handful of sales offices in Europe and America.

The brains behind this company's multi-million-dollar success story is Israel Pollak, a former Rumanian yeshiva student, who, together with his brothers, made an enviable reputation in Chile before yielding to the persuasion of the late Pinchas Sapir to settle in Israel.

Pollak was already well into middle-age when he decided to live and work in this country. It wasn't the profit motive which brought him here. Israel was then grossly underdeveloped, and if his incentive had been routed in anything other than Zionism, he would have either stayed in Chile or picked another place to make a new start.

In the beginning, he created new employment opportunities in Kiryat Gat. Later, in the course of time, he moved into other development areas, buying out bankrupt or near-bankrupt concerns and revitalizing them to high levels of production.

Expansion was so great and so rapid that by 1976, Polgat Enterprises was transformed from a private, family-owned con-

glomerate to a public company, with Pollak retaining his position as chairman and managing director.

Now 72-years-old, Pollak is far from being a mere figurehead. He goes to work every day, spending most of his time at Polgat's head offices in Tel Aviv and visiting the firm's various plants twice a week.

"I'm not just an executive," he chides in response to a question on how he spends his time. "Don't forget that first and foremost, I'm an industrialist."

Hasn't he made enough money already, and isn't it perhaps time for him to give someone else a chance?

"It's not the money," he retorts. "It's the challenge. It's the desire to keep on creating more and new things. It's the drive to upgrade efficiency, to increase production, to develop new techniques and technologies..."

The opportunity to keep on going after generally accepted retirement age is a luxury available to politicians, the self-employed and company directors. Does Pollak share this indulgence with Polgat personnel of his own age-group?

He parries the question, saying that everyone should have a fulfilling hobby so that retirement does not become a matter of crawling into bed and waiting to die.

He himself likes to paint. With his hobby — as with his business — he is prolific: The walls of his office and the corridors leading to it are covered with his signed works. Pollak also enjoys reading (in Hebrew) and, when feeling energetic, is not averse to a round of golf. He often stops off at the Caesarea course when travelling between the Bege-Or factory in Migdal Haemek, and his office in Tel Aviv.

Pollak does not ignore the needs of ageing employees and has, in fact, established a special plant for

pensioners who want to keep on working a few hours a day in order to feel useful, or to have a little extra money. He has also provided a creche for the pre-school-age offspring of his employees, and has instituted a scholarship fund for the children of his workers. Every Polgat Enterprises employee receives an annual vacation in excess of agreements reached with the Histadrut; throughout the year, each is given a two-day stay (with spouse) at a hotel at Polgat's expense.

The Polgat concern is the giant of Israel's fashion industry — combining new greasy wool imported from Australia, spinning its own yarns, producing pure worsted wool, polyester/wool, acrylics, linens, denim, corduroy and other fabrics. From these it manufactures Bagir and Lady Bagir classically designed suits and separates, and Ligat sportswear for men, women and children.

Under its Ouman brand-name, Polgat produces an enormous output of knitwear. The company's subsidiaries also make sleepwear, belts, buttons and leatherwear. Plans are afoot for Jerulin, the Jerusalem-based Polgat manufacturer of nightgowns and robes, to begin mass production of blouses.

The company has been experimenting with this line for more than a year, and Pollak is now satisfied that the blouses' quality is worthy of market release.

Sixty per cent of Polgat's output is exported. Overseas sales in 1982 were \$30m, which, according to Pollak, signify a 10 per cent increase in real terms.

"Anyone who bought Polgat shares on the stock market exchange," he claims, "made a sound investment." Despite soaring inflation, European currency devalu-

ations and world-wide recessions, Pollak is confident that Polgat's exports will continue to grow. Of Polgat's impressive exports, 70 per cent are sold to Marks and Spencer in England, and to C & A in Germany.

"Our relationship with these two firms is more in the nature of joint ventures than supplier and buyer," he explains. "They take us into account in their buying programmes and place orders a year in advance. It's not like a small manufacturer visiting a potential buyer with a suitcase full of samples."

Even so, the risk factor, it is pointed out, is enormous. Pollak concedes that all business is risky, but says that if his two major clients go under, "everyone goes under." He compares trade with politics: "If America has anything to fear from Russia, the whole world lives under the same threat."

Polgat's efficiency and continuing expansion is found not just in Israel, but world-wide. The totality of its vertical operation is unusual here and elsewhere; while plants all over are closing down, its factories are booming. The company has never sold or closed down a plant.

"We're into textiles and fashions," quips Pollak, "not real estate."

Whenever Polgat acquires a deficient plant, the company com-



Tri-colour tent dress in suede with drawstring waist and fold-over flap collar by Bege-Or for winter 1983-84.

pletely revamps its premises, installing new, advanced automated equipment. Pollak is a staunch believer in modernization, which he regards as one of the most powerful weapons in getting the edge on competition.

But competition isn't everything, and Pollak also recognizes the need for co-operation. In this context, he is chairman of Textile House, scheduled to open in Tel Aviv later this year as the national centre for some 50 textile manufacturers.

None of the Polgat products will be seen in Eilat during Israel Fashion Week. The reasons which Pollak gives for this can be summed up in one word: economics.

"We're not just one small factory," he notes. "We're a conglomerate. All our subsidiaries function as individual entities, which means that each would have to be individually represented, taking a lot of executives away from our factories."

"We don't really gain anything from Fashion Week because we are in constant touch with our markets all year round. Our participation is just an extra burden on the government which subsidizes this event."

"We prefer," he says, "to reduce government expenditure and to continue to be of assistance by bringing more and more foreign currency into the country."

When he was born in 1930, in Kvitzi Kinneret, and began playing the piano at an early age. She studied at the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem music academies, and returned in 1951 to the kibbutz, teaching music and writing her first songs.

She moved to Tel Aviv in 1956, and in 1960 attained recognition when her song *Happa Hey* won first prize in an Italian contest. Among her most famous songs are *Jerusalem of Gold* and *The Binding of Isaac*.

Wilensky was born in Poland in

1910. After studying music at the Warsaw Conservatory, he came to Eretz Yisrael in 1932. Here, he first became known as a composer of music for the light theatre. His songs became hits during the War of Independence Period, (*Shir hahablanim*, *Hakrav ha'aharon*), and the 1956 Sinai Campaign (*Mai har Sinai*).

He has written over 1,000 songs, including many with words by Bialik (*Yom Kayitz yom ham*), Alterman (*Elmelech Kalanlyot*) and many other poets and lyricists. He also composed music for prayers from the Song of Songs and the book of Isaiah.

Hefer was also born in Poland, in 1925. He came to this country in 1936, and grew up in Ra'anana, joining the Palmach at age 17. While a student at the Hebrew University in the early 1950s, he began publishing poems in the press, and wrote songs for light theatre and night clubs.

Among his well-known songs are *Hayu zemanim*, *Shir hashechuna*, *Hafnjan*, and *Hazela ha'adon*.

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THE ARTS

Pioneer composer remembered

I had intended to write a profile of composer Yehoyachin Stutchevsky on his 92nd birthday, which was on February 7, but he died last November 14. So the present profile perforce is dedicated to his memory.

Stutchevsky had for a number of years lived quietly and unobtrusively in Tel Aviv, rather forgotten by later generations of composers and musicians. This neglect was probably due to changes of style and attitude in modern Israeli music. Electronic and aleatoric music, and versions of other styles also, are taught in our academies. A more traditional composer won't be given prizes by juries, or awarded commissions. It's true that Stutchevsky went through rather drastic stylistic changes but he was always committed to a melodic approach. In addition, his East European background lost its relevance in the context of the new Israeli culture.

Stutchevsky was born in Romny in the Ukraine in 1891. His parents came from *Klezmer* families, which had played this style of Jewish music for generations. He began music studies very early in Leipzig, which was then the European centre for music studies. He was a student of the famous Julius Klengel, and performed for a year with the Gewandhaus Orchestra under the great Artur Nikisch. It was a time when techniques and attitudes were changing rapidly, and Pablo Casals' influence on instrumentalists began to be felt. World War I found him in Switzerland, where he

spent the next ten years performing as a soloist and in chamber music ensembles, but mainly as a teacher of the violoncello.

AFTER 15 years of teaching innumerable students, he wrote his famous *The Art of Playing the Violoncello*, published in six volumes by Schott of Mainz in 1932. It is still a standard work.

He supplemented it with *Studies for a New Technique of Violoncello Playing*, which included classical and modern studies, and preparatory exercises. With this work Stutchevsky achieved worldwide recognition.

FROM ZURICH, he moved in 1924 to Vienna, and soon became close to the three leading figures of the second Vienna school, Schoenberg, Berg and Webern. He played with

MUSIC & MUSICIANS

Yohanan Boehm



Emmanuel Steuermann, and joined the Wiener Streichquartett, which later became the famous Kolisch Quartet. But his involvement with the New Music did not divert him from his preoccupation with Jewish music. In 1928, he founded the Association for the Development of Jewish Music, organized concerts of Jewish music, and wrote and talked about it everywhere. He left for Palestine just in time, in 1938, and from then on lived in Tel Aviv.

He established himself quickly as a much sought-after teacher and performer, but turned more and more to composition. He wrote not only for his beloved instrument but for voice (some 150 songs), for various chamber music combinations, and for orchestra. He wrote seven books, and some 385 articles, mostly on Jewish music and musicians.

Twenty-two years ago, when I first published a profile of Joachim (Yehoyachin) Stutchevsky, I described him as "a soft-spoken, mild-mannered man with a stoical outlook on life. Despite his many disappointments and unfulfilled expectations, he has always a twinkle in his eye and a story of a humorous anecdote to tell from his long, rich experience. His warm humanity and his likeable personality make one hope that many more works will yet give him the high satisfaction of creation."

He did compose many more works. He should be remembered as one of the pioneers of Jewish and Israeli music, and as an untiring fighter for the development of an indigenous Jewish culture.



Moshe Wilensky, Naomi Shemer, Haim Hefer.



Director Wachsmann

The best film of the year

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hansin, produced by Ya'acov Lipshitz and directed by Daniel Wachsmann, has been awarded a \$2,300,000 prize in Jerusalem for the best feature film of the year.

Wachsmann was also awarded first prize for directing the film, which deals with Jewish-Arab relationships in Galilee. The police film *Under Nose* earned awards for the best actor (Lurie Gavriel) and best editor (Anat Luberski). Anat Atzmon was named best actress for her portrayal of a prostitute in *Dead End*, and Amnon Solomon won the photography prize for *The Last Winter*.

The prizes are awarded annually by the Ministries of Education and Culture, and Industry and Trade. This year half the prize money was contributed by the Elite company. *Hansin* is also Israel's entry for the "best foreign film" category in the Academy Awards in Hollywood.

If you have spent some time on a kibbutz in Israel, and are seriously considering making this challenging way of life your own, contact us and let us tell you about Garin Yarden. The members of Garin Yarden "Sheva" will be moving to Kibbutz Gadot in the southern Hula Valley in Fall '83.

Garin Yarden "Hot" will be making aliyah in Fall '84.

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ariel

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GOTTA GETTA GOTTEX

IT WOULD be inconceivable for Fashion Week to be in Eilat without Gotta Getta. The sparkling sea and golden shores of Israel's winter vacation paradise have often served as an inviting backdrop for the fabulous photographs in Gotta Getta catalogues.

Obviously, the time of year vis-a-vis Fashion Week, calls for winter garb. Gotta Getta, showing creations in keeping with the geography and the climate, is the only company with absolutely no wintery items in its collection.

Taking its cue from Eilat's "follow the sun" slogan, Gotta Getta is brimming over with beachwear — a glimpse of what's in store for summer '84, and six months early to boot.

The Summer Preview is a carefully edited segment of the whole show, designed to whet the appetite before the big splash with which Gotta Getta welcomes every summer.

Excitement begins in the print store, with amazingly real-looking

leopard, tiger and snake skins writhing out of the jungle and onto lycra. The call of the wild is given an extra dose of animal magnetism in curve-hugging swim-suits, leotards, and one-piece, strapless, ankle-length body suits.

For glittering occasions, Leah Gottlieb can't see why any woman has to go to the bother of an evening dress when a sequinned maillot will twinkle just as effectively. For poolside parties, it's a glamorous must.

MORE TRANQUIL tastes are catered to in wavy stripes of lagoon blues and greens. The ocean — in its myriad shades of blues and greens — is the main inspiration for print and inset motifs in a potpourri of solid blocks of colour, interspersed with stripes for visual and textual effect. A twilight blend of delicate aquas, ivories and pale pinks running into each other and imprinted with a white floral design, is yet another chapter in the print saga

which is also richly embellished with striking geometrics, spots and flowers.

The plethora of one-piece and two-piece Olympic style, halter neck, cross-over, camisole and strapless swimsuits — some with draw-strings to permit a hip-bone tan — are complemented by an even wider range of cover-ups including caftans, dresses, jackets, tunics, blouses, skirts, shorts, pants and pareos, plus the new Gotta Getta ultramarine velour wrap-around robes and early morning warmer-uppers.

Gotta Getta is one of the few fortunate companies which is not adversely affected by the world-wide economic recession. On the contrary, a recent catalogue-style coloured insert in *Burda* elicited a spate of telex messages from enthusiastic potential buyers who wanted to know just where and when the items featured would be available.



G.F.C. Jacket, pants and bikini in coordinated fabric and colours, by Gotta Getta.

THE COMMUNITY

PERHAPS THE last place on earth where American Reform Jews — well rooted, affluent and pampered — would be likely to go is to a young kibbutz in the sizzling Arava or a lookout point on a lone hilltop in the Galilee.

But that is exactly what Haim Sharett, currently chief emissary of the Kibbutz movement to the Reform movement in the U.S., is asking them to do.

Sharett, long-time manager of Kibbutz Hamadaya in the Beisan Valley and son of the late premier and foreign minister Moshe Sharett, believes there is enough idealism and desire for self-fulfilment among Reform Jews to guarantee success.

The 49-year-old kibbutznik, officially sent to the U.S. by the World Zionist Organization's Youth and Hehalutz Department, has just started to promote his plans for Gar'in Galil, a free-enterprise settlement on Mt. Halutz in Galilee. Nearly a dozen families have already expressed serious interest, and Sharett expects more to inquire when articles he has written in Jewish — especially Reform — publications appear in print.

The lookout point will start with 25 families sometime in 1984, and is being planned for up to 175 more. Married couples and families are invited to apply, with no adult age limit. "The spirit is the limit," says Sharett, noting that even retired people and older working adults would find a niche at the settlement.

The site is in the heart of Galilee (this movement, as well as Reform Jewry, prefer to remain inside the Green Line), with a panoramic view of Haifa Bay.

Since most of the residents are expected to work outside the settlement, the central location — less than an hour's drive from Haifa, Nahariya and Safad and very close to Carmiel — is a real boon. Also convenient is the nearby Tefen industrial park, where settlers will be encouraged to establish their own business or industry, with government grants and loans available.

"Their livelihood is the choice and responsibility of every family," says Sharett. Some may work on Mt. Halutz, as writers or artists, or as a kindergarten teacher or nurse. In addition, 15 dunams of land will be set aside for non-polluting industry, such as computer software, handicrafts and the like. The Tefen industrial park, where many of the settlers will work, is only eight minutes away by car. Rented space



Haim Sharett, initiator of Mt. Halutz settlement, looks at a map of the area.

The spirit is the limit

In the park will also be available to those without means to build a factory building. One part of the industrial park will provide technical and professional services to industry. Residents will also have the opportunity to work in Carmiel, Ma'alot, Nahariya and Safad.

Sharett, who plans to devote much of his time at the end of his service in the U.S. to helping the settlement, returned from New York to visit all industries and other potential employers in the area, so he could provide up-to-date reports to potential settlers.

All of the settlers, including the Israelis who may join, are expected to be willing to live comfortably with the mores of Reform Judaism. It will undoubtedly be a different form of Reform Judaism from what they're used to, says Sharett. The first Reform settlement in Israel — Kibbutz Yehel in the Arava — has kosher food in its kitchens, and a synagogue where men and women pray three times a day. The Reform movement will probably help the Galilee settlement in the building of its own synagogue, and Reform rabbis will live there as well.

THE FIRST families will live in 25 prefabricated mobile homes of 45 to 68 square metres (depending on family size) and thus very modest,

Judy Siegel reports on a new kibbutz in the Galilee for American Reform Jews

by American Jewish standards. But Sharett explains that "settlers will start building their own homes on the site as soon as possible. They will be able to buy their caravans, but most or all of the settlers will build villas." The organizers are thinking of homes of wood, which are still rare in Israel but common abroad.

Swedish homes will cost \$450 per square metre if built by a company, and just \$360 if the settler constructs it himself or with some professional help. Each family will get a long-term lease of land of up to 700 square metres upon which to build. Each family must, in addition, pay \$7,000 for infrastructure, half of which will be a generous unlinked loan and the other half linked up to five per cent interest, with payment starting after seven years. The Jewish Agency is responsible for constructing public facilities used in common by all the settlers. Immigrant housing loans will be available, with the special benefits granted for all development areas.

Sharett says that only those who

have been at least six months in Israel will be considered for the settlement. Without such an experience the difficulties in adapting from American to Israeli life in the Galilee would be too difficult. But the organizers will help all serious candidates without previous experience of Israel to spend at least half a year here in order to qualify. Partially subsidized pilot tours will also be available for those who want to visit the site and look into employment opportunities. The usual graphological and psycho-technical tests will be administered to applicants.

The settlers will spend their first six months in the country at the absorption centre in Carmiel to learn Hebrew and make their first adjustments. Then they will move to the temporary camp on the site.

Sharett tells Reform Jews he meets: "Here is a chance for you and your family, together with families like your own, to build a Reform community as one of the new communities now emerging in the Galilee."

"Here is a chance for you to raise your children in a totally Jewish environment in one of the most beautiful areas in Israel. Here is a chance to feel fulfilled, to enjoy Jewish sovereignty majority." Sharett spends the rest of his time

urging young adults — singles, couples and families aged 25 to 35 — to join the 70 members and candidates currently living in Yehel in the Arava. This first kibbutz of the Reform movement is gaining momentum, its agricultural land flourishing with grapes, dates, pomeles, flowers and winter vegetables. There are also dairy cows and plans for future industry.

Yehel also offers a seminar centre with study programmes that are combined with camping trips in the Negev.

"Reform Jews could come on aliya alone and join the kibbutz, but if they are planning to move to Israel in a year or two, it's best to have a supporting group," says Sharett. "Yehel needs new blood, and American Reform Jews of the right kind can provide it," he maintains.

THOSE WHO are interested in "roughing it" even more can apply for settlement in Kibbutz Lotan, the site modelled on Yehel and not far away, which will be the Reform movement's second kibbutz. So far there are 20 Americans signed up, and 30 Israelis, some of them still in the army. Training for the kibbutz will be provided in Kibbutz Yotvata, and the festive opening ceremony of Lotan will take place in June. Sharett reports that all of the past problems with the Housing Ministry and other authorities that delayed the establishment of the kibbutz have been surmounted. More than 70 dunams of date palms, planted two years ago, will be waiting for the young kibbutzniks when they move in.

Sharett is often asked by American Reform Jews about their demands for official state recognition of their rabbis and the movement. Sharett usually shrugs and counters: "It took a whole generation for the Reform movement to become pro-Zionist. It'll probably take another generation for the Reform movement to be acceptable and fully recognized here. It's a process."

(Information about Gar'in Galil and Kibbutz Yehel can be obtained from Haim Sharett and Larry Tishkoff, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York; Oren Sela, UAHC, 13107 Ventura Blvd., North Hollywood, California; and Zvika Halevi, UAHC, 3785 NW 82nd Street, Miami, Florida, and from the Hebrew Union College, King David Street, Jerusalem.)

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

Thriving bank not for sale, but...

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Mark Mosevics, chairman of the board of Danot Investments, of First International Investment Holding, (FIBI) (which is owned by Danot), and also of the First International Bank (which is owned by FIBI), last week declared: "Not only is First International not up for sale, but we are even trying to buy another financial institution, the Agriculture Bank — and we have informed the government, which owns this latter bank, of our willingness to acquire it."

Mosevics, who was speaking at a press conference at which the financial statements of FIBI and First International were revealed, added however, "that everything has its price, and if we can get a good price for First International, well, we might sell."

(Earlier in the year, Mizrahi offered \$150m, for First International. The deal fell through due to the refusal of the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Israel to approve it.)

Mosevics said that both FIBI and First International had had "very good years, and we expect profits to maintain the same high level in 1983. We are still maintaining an aggressive policy and we expect to see continued good results."

Seven branches were opened in 1982, he reported, bringing the total of First International's up to 65, and a further seven are to be opened in the current year.

"And one of them, or perhaps one of the existing ones, will be

open 24 hours a day." He declined to reveal the site of this "around the clock" bank, only noting that the precedent for 24-hour banks had been established in the U.S.

Moreover, First International would expand abroad. At present it has only one outlet, in London (which after 18 months of activities already has a profit of \$200,000). The other would be "in Europe or in the U.S., or perhaps in both places."

As for FIBI itself, the holding company was declaring 100 per cent bonus shares, bringing up to 264 per cent the entire amount of bonus shares declared for 1982. In addition, a five per cent dividend in cash had already been paid in 1982.

The net profits after tax were \$1,468m, in 1982, which was a 812 per cent increase over 1981, or 295 per cent in real terms (based on an inflationary spiral of 130.6 per cent).

In dollar terms, net profits had grown by 323 per cent to stand at \$43.6m. However, a goodly part of

this net profit is due to the one billion shekel emission floated by First International at the end of 1982.

As for First International itself, its managing director, Sadik Bino, noted that net profit after tax stood at \$545., a 101 per cent increase in real terms. However, if "extraordinary capital gains" were taken into account (i.e. sale of part of Merav mortgage bank, which is run by First International), the net profits after tax were \$995m., a real gain of 309 per cent over 1981.

The balance sheet of First International grew by 16 per cent in real terms to stand at \$568,202m., while its "capital, funds and reserves" grew by 318 per cent to stand at \$52,370m. (of which one billion was raised as an emission at the end of 1982).

First International is declaring 100 per cent bonus shares. Questioned about the recent stock market slide, Bino noted that when a "mutual fund rises in value by 600 per cent in one year, and some funds rose by 30 to 40 per cent a month, well, you can expect a collapse. This is only common sense."

However, First International had expected this, and had reduced the holdings of its mutual funds in stocks accordingly. The bank held 6.4 per cent of all the mutual funds (figured in shekels) in 1981, while by the end of 1982, it had only four per cent.

It had also reduced its participation as underwriters "since we did not want to touch any company of whose future we were not sure."



Mark Mosevics (Newsphot)

Improvements in air safety

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEN-GURION AIRPORT. — Work is to begin here soon on a new air-traffic control system, which is expected to equal the world's best for safety, the chairman of the Airport Authority, Arye Grosbard, has announced.

The system will "revolutionize" aviation in Israel, he told *The Jerusalem Post*, asserting that "flight safety will be brought up to the highest level in the world."

The system includes the "latest word" in American radar, now in use in 96 leading U.S. airports. The U.S. Federal Aviation Administration has agreed to lease it to Israel, and three FAA officials have already arrived to install the system and to train personnel, at a cost to

the Airports Authority of \$37 million.

The radar unit will be linked to an automatic air-traffic control system called ARTS2, which will display the identity, type and height of aircraft flying in the area under Ben-Gurion Airport control. Such a system does not exist in most European countries, Grosbard said.

Because the new system is safer, air-traffic controllers will be able to reduce distances between planes and thereby increase the airport's capacity by 30 per cent, he added. The system is expected to be completed by the end of 1984.

BANKING — Bank Leumi recently opened a representative office in Santiago, Chile.

Rates of exchange

February 24, 1983	IS
U.S. dollar	37.9438
British sterling	57.2511
German mark	15.5511
French franc	8.4847
Dutch guilder	14.0778
Swiss franc	18.4946
Svedish krona	5.0599
Norwegian krone	5.2687
Danish krone	4.7785
Japanese yen	6.9065
Canadian dollar	30.6152
Australian dollar	36.1568
South African rand	34.7508
Belgian franc (100)	7.0952
Austrian schilling (100)	22.1348
Italian lire (100)	2.6941
Japanese yen (100)	15.9444

PROFITS. — The net profits of Bank Hapoalim (Switzerland) in 1982 reached SFR 6 million, an increase of 48 per cent over 1981. The bank's balance sheet on December 31, 1982 totalled SFR 870.3m. compared with SFR 603.1 the previous year, an increase of 44 per cent.

Uneven week on the stock exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A good beginning and a somewhat sloppy ending characterized last week's trading on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

Over the first three days most sectors experienced a positive trend. It was clear to most observers that the market was being dominated by institutional purchases such as mutual funds and by portfolio managers.

However, on Wednesday and Thursday prices receded as volumes turned sharply lower and were among the lowest to be recorded since last summer.

In the earlier part of last week it was hoped that the public, which had moved to the sidelines, would come back to the market. Such a development would have certainly formed a foundation for further

gains and recouping of the heavy losses accumulated as a result of the stock market slide in January.

A big question still remains as to which direction the public will choose when it finally starts to re-invest. Bankers report no rush to re-invest funds from redeemed savings

We regret that because of technical reasons we did not receive the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange prices in time for publication.

schemes into new savings schemes. Many billions of shekels are now on short-term deposits or resting in foreign currency accounts.

On a weekly basis the shekel was devalued by 1.8 per cent. This figure would have been much lower, if not for a spate of rumours about a possible large devaluation last Thursday.

The Bank of Israel, which establishes the pricing of the shekel vis-a-vis the dollar and other currencies, used the opportunity to devalue the shekel by 29 aporot.

The dilemma faced by investors who consider foreign-currency options is accentuated by the very low interest rates available for fixed-term deposits. In addition, banks deduct 35 per cent in tax from the interest earned and at source. Effectively, on a three-month deposit in dollars, a depositor will receive net approximately 1% per cent. For investors battling three-digit inflation this is not generally considered an attractive yield.

The new issue market proved a pleasant surprise for those who build on the sum of the issues. Clal Computers for one came out at a premium of 60 per cent.

Made-in-Israel puzzle

By DANIEL GAVRON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ALMOST INEVITABLY, the new game R'MAG is going to be billed as "Israel's Answer to the Rubik Cube." But the game's inventor, Dror Rom, explains that the principle is somewhat different.

Rom has, in fact, written a best-selling guide to the famous cube in Hebrew and a further booklet on games and puzzles that can be carried out with it. But R'MAG is a two-dimensional puzzle, as opposed to the three dimensions of the Rubik Cube.

In its present form, marketed by a company of the same name, R'MAG is slightly easier to solve than the Cube, which has a range of possibilities running to 18 zeros. The new game has options running to only 13 zeros — that is, 10,000,000,000 chances of going wrong. But it can very simply be altered in a number of ways to make it far more complex than the Rubik Cube.

The game is based on two interlocking plastic wheels in a transparent plastic sheath. Each wheel is made up of three colours, but at the outset one of the colours (white) is common to both wheels. The colours become mixed once the wheel is rotated.

Inventor Rom says that children will most likely solve the game by trial and error, but there is a mathematical solution. What is reminiscent of the Cube is the way you bring one colour together, only to see the others more scattered.

The game sells in Israel at IS200. But the young company has its eyes on the export market, particularly North America.

Dror Rom, 28, at present earns his living as an insurance broker. He studied statistics and economics at the Hebrew University, and has been interested in games and puzzles since his school days.

The various plastic components of the game are manufactured and assembled in Jerusalem at the



Dror Rom... creating problems.

Talbiel Mental Home, the Rehabilitation Centre in Talpiot and the Old Age Home in the capital's Bukharin neighbourhood. The old people and the patients enjoy the work, partly because of the bright colours of the parts.

R'MAG is to make its foreign debut at the Nuremberg Trade Fair next month. Future projects include a plan for specially marked sets of the game for the blind.

Rom is not marketing a guide with R'MAG, but he does offer this tip to would-be problem-solvers: Concentrate on the large pieces first — get them in order without considering the smaller parts. Then work on the smaller pieces.

Delicacy for export only

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — It isn't kosher but it is among the country's fastest growing export businesses: high-priced sweet water prawns (a large type of shrimp) bred in fish ponds here alongside the 10,000 tons of fish that are bred for local marketing annually.

The prawns, introduced to diversify the pond's population, were first exported two years ago, when 3.5 tons were sold in Europe. The following year exports doubled to seven tons and this season, which started about three months ago, 16 tons are to be exported. Amnon Levin, secretary of the Fish

Breeders Union told *The Jerusalem Post*.

The prawns are hatched in laboratories and introduced into the ponds in April, growing to marketing size of 45 grams by November. The first lots are air-freighted to be sold fresh, while the rest are deep-frozen and shipped by sea.

The breeders earn \$6,000 a ton, but they still enjoy Agriculture Ministry aid, to put the business on its feet. None of the prawns are sold locally, because they are not kosher.

Levin said breeders now also experiment with fresh-water eels for further diversification. Both these are relatively high-priced.

Neve Ilan convention centre opens

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A new 80-room hotel with a convention centre capable of holding up to 200 people has been opened at the collective settlement of Neve Ilan outside Jerusalem.

Neve Ilan, which is affiliated to the kibbutz movement, is unique in that it is made up primarily of university graduates and regards

tourism as its main source of income. It is offering rooms in its three-star establishment on a bed-and-breakfast or full-board arrangement, or on a self-catering basis, with kitchenette.

In addition, it has a sports centre with an enclosed heated swimming pool, tennis, volleyball and basketball courts.

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C. AUDI 2000	10	0.22	56	224	32	880	
D. AUDI 2500	14	0.24	55	273	39	791	
E. DATSUN 1600	15	0.25	60	295	45	900	
F. DATSUN 2000	17	0.26	68	343	49	1018	
G. DATSUN 2500	21	0.30	76	421	60	1181	
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Contrasting opinions on Kahan Commission Report

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — The democratic process in Israel has carefully and responsibly addressed the tragedy of Beirut. It cited those individuals it believed did not properly anticipate the heinous crimes committed by the Christian Phalangists. In so doing, the tribunal made clear that no Israeli was guilty of any criminal act. The people of Israel have reason to be proud of their nation whose prime minister acted to establish a proper tribunal and to seek the truth.

Others seem to feel the need for Israel to once again prove to the world that it is a nation based on moral principle. This compulsive need for excessive moralization may come at a high cost to the people of Israel and those in the Diaspora as well.

Now that the decision is in, will the advocates of the investigation be satisfied? They demanded a democratic process and, now that the commission has spoken, will they accept its recommendations? Let us hope they will not resort to vindictiveness, thereby flouting the very principles of the democratic process which they demanded for Israel's leaders in the first place.

Let the Jewish nation not be torn apart by those who allow political expediency to take precedence over the well-being of the country. This is the time for Israel to accept the unity of purpose that all Israelis and Jews everywhere share.

This is the time to bind the

wounds. A hostile world is watching.

IVAN J. NOVICK, President, Zionist Organization of America New York.

Sir, — The Kahan Commission proves that even the principles of democracy can be endangered by extremism. Contrary to the report, Israel has nothing to be ashamed of. On the contrary she should be proud of her conduct. Acting in all good faith, she sought only to protect her borders and, by so doing, to bring freedom to a harassed neighbour. Ironically the well-meant attempt backfired and caused a situation that could not have been foreseen.

We did what we had to do, Mr. Sharon had the approval of his government, for he could not have acted on his own. Had events developed according to plan, Mr. Sharon would today be a national hero.

Y. BREEN Tel Aviv.

Sir, — No objective, well-informed observer can remain blind to the lack of proportion and balanced judgment that the Kahan Commission has shown in its attitude to the commanders and officers of the IDF. They condemned these devoted men engaged in most difficult tasks in an unusually complicated situation as if they were irresponsible, morally obtuse, almost criminal.

No hindsight is needed to realize

how superfluous were the hysterical demands for a full inquiry commission to deal with the events in Sabra and Shatila. They could and should have been dealt with by an internal army investigation and a military court, as the far more incriminating tragedy of Kafr Kasim was dealt with in 1956/7. Neither the media nor the opposition in those days was reckless and hypocritical enough to force Ben Gurion to establish an inquiry commission and drag the good name of our fighting men and our government through the mud.

PHINA GOLDNER Kiryat Haim.

Sir, — There is only one objective test with which to measure the Kahan Report — is it good for the Jews or bad for the Jews? If the whole world praises us, it can only be bad for the Jews.

JOSEPH CETER Ramat Gan.

Sir, — I cannot under any circumstances understand what is going on in our country. After the Kahan Commission issued its report, the Prime Minister and his whole government should have immediately submitted their resignation.

Instead they are playing a game of musical chairs by making Arik Sharon minister without portfolio. What a farce, after they themselves appointed the Kahan Commission! Is there no shame or morality left in this government?

SHIMSHON FRIED Degania A.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Dr. Manfred R. Lehmann recently wrote a letter to the Editor concerning his recollections of the 30th Zionist Congress. He described Dr. Chaim Weizmann as aloof and his speeches delivered "sometimes in very badly pronounced English."

I attended the same congress and listened to the same speeches and found no difficulty at all with Dr. Weizmann's English. Five years later, as an American Army chaplain in London during World War II, I came to know Dr. Weizmann rather well. I did not find him aloof. I would describe him rather as a man of dignity. I invited him to address the American Jewish officers stationed in London and he accepted immediately. His words and his personality won the enthusiasm of the hundreds of officers present. I had the privilege of serving as his unofficial aide-de-camp and, in that capacity, accompanied him when he addressed a meeting of members of Parliament. His English was quite clearly understood in his address to the members of Parliament, just as it was in the case of the officers in the American Army.

ELI LEDERHENDLER Jerusalem.

TEDDY KOLLEK FOR PRESIDENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — It is baffling to me that, with all the party men and mediocrities being mentioned in the press as potential candidates for the presidency, no one apparently has yet brought up the name of Teddy Kollek as a possible choice.

A man of national and international repute, Kollek has devoted much of his political career to creating a sense of coexistence and tolerance in a divided political community. This, it seems to me, is far more important a qualification than any adherence to this or that ethnic group. His brand of fusion politics has won respect for him across party lines. Why not let his



message of tolerance and love of country he broadcast at the national level? I say, put Teddy in the President's House!

SAFETY APPROACHES AT ISRAEL MUSEUM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Whenever I come to Israel, I make it a point to visit the Israel Museum. I am a senior citizen with a slight difficulty in walking. This time I went with a friend, also a senior citizen, who has some trouble with her eyesight.

We decided to see the Bezalel show on Tuesday, January 4, in the evening, in spite of a lot of rain and wind. The long climb up the stairs was no pleasure, but the exhibit was so interesting and beautiful that we found it worth the effort.

Getting back was another matter. The upper part of the stairs was pitch dark, the rest of the stairs was poorly lit. The stairs were slippery in the rain, and there was no rail to hold on to.

I hope this situation can be remedied.

EMMA WILE Emnet, New York.

While for her remarks concerning safety approaches at the Israel Museum, we always appreciate the remarks of visitors as this creates a dynamic for possible improvements when, in the opinion of the Museum, such changes are found warranted. Mrs. Wile found us fairly on two counts of safety, the first being the general illumination of approaches leading to the entrance. She is correct in this observation and a new plan for lighting already exists. The funds to implement them are being sought, and we hope that, on another visit, Mrs. Wile will find this satisfactory. However, on the second count concerning rails to hold on to in climbing the various sets of steps, we would like to point out that an alternative walkway is available. This has only one set of steps and a railing.

VIVIENNE SILVER Public Affairs Department Jerusalem.

RABBI JUDAH NADICH New York.

HOSPITAL CARE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — As a new immigrant from the United States, and in view of the recent publicity about a total breakdown in government hospitals, I viewed my recent operation at Soroka Hospital in Beersheva with great trepidation and anxiety.

However, despite all my fears, warnings and so-called horror stories of Israeli hospitalization, I had nothing but good things to say about my recent operation and hospital stay.

ALLAN WARSHAWSKY

THE MURDER OF EMIL GRUNZWEIG

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I was sworn at, hit, kicked, had stones thrown at me, and spat at for two hours. (The police lacked the necessary numerical forces and did little to control the situation.) Finally, Emil was killed, because of his political views, after he had marched beside us.

I came to this country seven years ago and fought as a reservist in a paratroop unit on both the eastern and western fronts during the Lebanese war, despite my objections to the war following attainment of the operation's initial goals. Three times this year, attempts have been made to kill me — once by the Syrians, once by PLO terrorists, and now by Jews. Since my aliyah, I have never felt so frustrated, confused and fearful for our future.

Thursday (February 10) was our Crystal Night. The question now is how we, the general public, should continue the democratic process. We could search for ways of avenging the death and continue our struggle as a physical one, but I fear that would only worsen the situation. If we are too weak, we shall lose our democracy, but if we return the punch, the violence can only increase.

The only way for us to behave is for all of us to be proud; those to whom democracy is dear should hold their head up and not be afraid. These last weeks, many Peace Now supporters have removed the movement's stickers from their cars because of fear of attack. This is not the solution. In order to halt the decline, we should all demonstrate tolerance and understanding.

LILA BRODSKY Jerusalem.

Sir, — There is no question that the grenade killing of Emil Grunzweig was a horrible act. However, I wonder why the newspapers and television devoted so much more attention to it than to the killing of Esther Ohanna, the 20-year-old victim of stone throwing.

Is it acceptable when Arabs throw stones and kill Jews? What kind of memorial park has been built for those killed in Hebron or elsewhere by rock-throwing and stabbing? Perhaps, if we spent as much space on these deaths, there might be a deterrent against rock-throwing and stabbing.

PEACE NOW DEMONSTRATION AT EFRAT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — As one of the founders of Efrat and former president of Raishit Geula, the religious aliyah movement, I was saddened and dismayed by the recent demonstration at Efrat by Peace Now as reported in The Post.

Of all the settlements in Judea and Samaria, certainly those in Gush Etzion (between Jerusalem and Hebron) have and rightly deserve the support of the vast majority of Jews throughout the world. Anyone familiar with the history of this area knows the heartbreaking sacrifices made by young Jewish pioneers from 1942-48 to re-establish a vibrant Jewish presence in an area so rich in the history of our people.

Efrat was founded with three specific goals: 1) to be a major city in the Gush to ensure that never again would the region fall into the hands of our enemies, 2) to secure the southern flank of Jerusalem, and 3) to provide an educational base for the spiritual enrichment of both non-observant and observant Jews. Can any Jew who is truly concerned with the continued survival and flourishing of a Jewish State be opposed to the growth of Efrat?

I do not impugn the motives of the leaders of Peace Now. There are many good and honourable people in the movement who genuinely want to enhance the ethical and moral fabric of the country. Nevertheless, the unwarranted attack upon Efrat, the desecration of its buildings, and the accompanying desecration of the Sabbath was a serious error which can only harm the interests of Peace Now and of the Jewish People. Hopefully the lot of the economically disadvantaged in Israel will improve, but not at the expense of settlements such as Efrat.

RALPH (MENACHEM) MARCUS, M.D. Teaneck, New Jersey.

A VOLUNTEER DENTIST'S REWARD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — During the last month, I volunteered my professional services to the Dental Volunteers for Israel clinic which is located in Jerusalem at Mekor Haim Street 29 and is under the patronage of Mayor Teddy Kollek.

Thousands of children from needy families have been treated in the clinic since its inception in the summer of 1980. These children, from 5 to 16, cannot possibly afford private dentistry. They are being treated by volunteer dentists, men and women, Jewish and non-Jewish professionals from North America, France and Sweden who are being housed in apartments supplied by the Municipality of Jerusalem.

Everything that has been accomplished until now, and whatever will be achieved later this year, has only been possible through the energy put into this project by the founder of the clinic, Trudi Birger. She is surrounded by a few volunteer workers who have been raising the necessary funds from private sources and are recruiting volunteer dentists and hygienists, which are equally essential to maintain this effort.

Now that my volunteer period comes to an end, I must confess that for what I gave, I got even more in return. I just won't be able to forget these wonderful children of Jerusalem. So I did what is logical and signed up again for March 1984.

SEYMOUR A. FOX, D.D.S. Jerusalem (Valley Stream, N.Y.)

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1983

Aspirins won't help

ISRAEL's ailing health care system has moved this winter into the acute stage of its long decline. But the person most directly responsible for keeping the system in good running order seems unable to make up his mind about whether a health-care crisis exists, and if it does, just how bad it really is.

Health Minister Eliezer Shostak was taken aback when 30 directors of government hospitals and department heads — rather than the four invited — showed up at his office at the beginning of the month to angrily demand an immediate improvement in the rapidly worsening conditions in the government hospitals.

The doctors came armed with well-documented evidence of swamped emergency rooms, patients overflowing into the hallways of crammed hospital wards and nurses staggering under the greatly increased patient load. All they managed to get in return was a lame acknowledgement and the excuse of no more budget.

Mr. Shostak offered a temporary solution: to transfer some patients from the most overcrowded hospitals to privately-run medical institutions nearby.

The Health Ministry also saw fit on the night of the stormy meeting to issue a statement noting that the doctors' complaints were a diversionary tactic to gain public sympathy. "Rather than focussing its attention on higher salaries, the Israel Medical Association would do well to fight for better health care."

Just five days later, Mr. Shostak dismissed the reports of "dangerous overcrowding and understaffing" in government hospitals as "untrue and exaggerated allegations." His conscience was clear, the minister announced, noting that the ministry is constantly building new medical facilities and improving its services.

But either Mr. Shostak's conscience is not so clear or his diagnosis changes when the issue of the doctors' wage demands comes up. In the Knesset on Wednesday he acknowledged that the crisis he had pooh-poohed 16 days earlier did indeed exist. The country's health services are in a "very bad state," he said, and blamed the problem on inadequate budgets and long neglect.

He also took the opportunity to label the threatened doctors' strike "illegal" and appealed to the Israel Medical Association to postpone it.

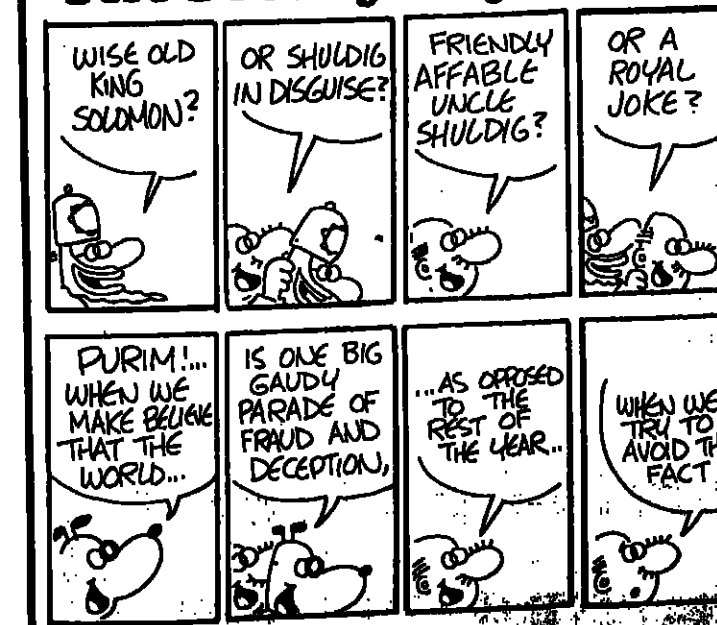
While attempts are made to revive the stalled negotiations, the talks between the Treasury and the employers, and the Israel Medical Association have been dragging along for 10 months.

The employers, under the tutelage of the Treasury, have adamantly refused to give the doctors anything more than the 22 per cent rise set down by last year's collective wage agreement. But the doctors are fighting for a substantial rise in their basic gross salary, which averages only \$20,000 a month. The doctors have a good case for improving their inadequate salaries.

But the smoke of this battle should not obscure the serious problems afflicting the nation's health-care system.

That system requires entire revamping, with a national health planning authority at the helm.

The Friday Dry Bones



Published weekly: February 27-March 5, 1983

Dry Bones



WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1983

Mr. Reagan's puzzles

U.S. PRESIDENT Reagan, in what was billed as a major foreign policy speech in Washington yesterday, made some strange remarks. He said the U.S. would be ready to "take all necessary measures" in order "to guarantee" Israel's northern borders after Israel withdraws its army from Lebanon.

Even critics of the government's policy and of the war must find this presidential offer odd. Firstly, it assumes that Israel does not want to withdraw from Lebanon — a canard that apparently has affixed itself on minds in official Washington. Even the bravest bluster by our ministerial orators cannot conceal the deep desire, universally shared in Israel, to bring the troops out of the Lebanese quagmire. To assume the opposite simply means that official Washington does not understand Israeli society.

Secondly, the offer assumes that Israel can be persuaded by the suggestion that the U.S. would "guarantee" the security of the northern border.

In all of Israel's history, long before anyone heard of Ariel Sharon and long before anyone thought Menachem Begin could ever control the levers of power, it was always axiomatic that Israel had to rely upon itself to safeguard its borders. No one else, no matter how friendly, could be relied upon to do that job. For only Israel could be so committed to its security needs as to make the required effort, and, if necessary, the required sacrifices.

"Guarantees" by third parties, however well intended, could never be a substitute for Israel's own capacity to defend itself.

By dredging up this unfortunate notion of guarantees, Mr. Reagan again betrayed a dismaying lack of understanding of Israeli realities. And he probably did not understand the consequences of this suggestion even on his own home patch. For who today would wager that the U.S. Congress would ever approve sending American troops to safeguard a border where bullets might fly?

Presumably, the U.S. President is impatient at the pace of the Lebanese negotiations. He would like to get them finished in order to move on to the celebrated "Reagan Plan" which refers to negotiations over the West Bank and Gaza. But he has not served his purpose by seeming foolish.

There is much room to argue whether Israel went to war in Lebanon only to safeguard its northern border or to reshape Lebanon and its relations with Israel. Mr. Sharon, quite obviously, had the latter intention. His aims were frustrated by the outcome. He, and the government, have yet to pay the full price for this failure. But that failure does not mean that Israel must surrender all of its remaining assets and jettison even its minimalist security aims.

This is certainly a point at which Israeli and American interests coincide in Lebanon. Mr. Reagan's perplexing remarks have not advanced them.

TUESDAY, FEB. 22, 1983

Fear or favour of Sharon?

PRIME MINISTER Begin's decision to make Ariel Sharon a member of the Ministerial Security Committee and the steering committee for the negotiations between Israel and Lebanon came as a surprise or not, the ministers dutifully approved, although there were several audacious hold outs, like Mordechai Zipori, David Levy, and Gideon Patl.

Mr. Begin's various spokesmen, probably also taken by surprise, promptly cranked up justifications. The Security Committee, they noted, is not important anyway, being large and unwieldy. And the steering committee is not really where the action is. That is reserved for the smaller forum, which will now consist of Mr. Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and the new Defence Minister-designate, Moshe Arens.

Moreover, they argued, Sharon in committee will be a Sharon muzzled. Ventilating his views in committee will make him a participant, bound to secrecy, and restrain any impulse of his to go public in criticism of government decisions on Lebanon or other security issues.

These justifications, however, are almost as surprising as Mr. Begin's action itself. If the Security Committee is unimportant, why do the ministers, who presumably have better things to do, waste their time on it?

The same logic can be applied to the steering committee. If it's not important, who needs it? And if it is, why has Sharon been placed on it?

If his spokesmen's explanations indeed reflect Mr. Begin's thinking, the upshot is that Sharon's committee appointments are simply a domestic political ploy by the Premier. He wishes to neutralize the irrepressible Sharon because he fears what the former defence minister might do, and say, untethered.

Lawyers may argue about the formal legal warrant for the decision not to remove Sharon from the Cabinet, as the Kahan Commission obviously intended. But even the most practiced hunter of legal loopholes must choke on such a fetid dish of impropriety as permitting Mr. Sharon to sit on the committee dealing with decisions over Lebanon.

Jehovah's Witnesses